One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts

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Edited by
Michael Friedrich
Harunaga Isaacson
Jörg B. Quenzer

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Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke

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Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke

Introduction – Manuscripts as Evolving Entities

manuscripts [...] *do not stand still but develop*.[1]

Johan Peter Gumbert

The title of this collective volume pays tribute to the eminent Arabist Franz Rosenthal (1914–2003). He described in one of his notes "From Arabic Books and Manuscripts" a manuscript written in 1487–88 by a learned bookseller from Yemen, who had compiled the volume for his own use:

> The intellectual outlook of an-Nihmî is revealed by the contents of the manuscript which he wrote for himself. He appears to have considered it as the repository of what he thought was most valuable in the world of literature. Mysticism and philosophy take the first place, and there is a strong and unmistakable inclination for the occult sciences. But an-Nihmî also shows some historical and poetical interest. Above all, he displays a courageous willingness to make his choice of literary works with a remarkable disregard of religious barriers and traditions.[2]

This 'Brief Communication' on a 'One-Volume Library of Arabic Philosophical and Scientific Texts in Istanbul' was published in 1955 and, despite its promise of conceptual richness, only recently seems to have inspired further research.

The same holds true for a short article by Lynn Thorndike (1882–1965), author of the famous eight-volume *History of Magic and Experimental Science*. In contrast to copies mass-produced by the *pecia* system for the European universities since the 14th century, he had described manuscripts which consisted of more than one text and had been produced by or for an individual who desired to have 'in a single volume a number of relatively brief treatises by different authors of his own selection' as early as 1946:[3]

> Since this was his own affair, he might alter the word order or even the wording of his authors to make the meaning clearer or the style more acceptable to himself, or just because he was a bit careless and indifferent as to such matters. He might purposely omit some of

1 Gumbert 2004a, 21. A few days before this book went into print, the editors learned of the passing away of Johan Peter Gumbert. We dedicate this volume to his memory.
2 Rosenthal 1955, 15.
3 Thorndike 1946, 93–96.

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> the text which did not seem to him worth the trouble of copying, or condense it a little, or expand it a little, or embody a previous marginal note in the text, or add a new note of his own, or make such other alterations as he chose. He might know the authors and titles of the works which he was copying so well that he would not bother to record them. He might insert anonymously a composition of his own.
>
> So, while the exemplar [in the *pecia* system] was a single text which aimed to be standard divided into handy pieces, the ordinary learned Latin manuscript is often a composite of different treatises in all sorts of permutations and combinations, not merely of selection and arrangement of the component treatises, but in the characteristics and peculiarities of the text of each. [...]
> Such manuscripts combine within one cover a working library with a laboratory notebook or a clinical record of cases. Or they may reflect the professional interests of a lawyer or logician or theologian or astronomer and astrologer. Others are commonplace books displaying a miscellaneous literary interest. In all these instances what is left out may be as significant and revealing as what is included. The personal liberties which the maker of the new manuscript has taken with the old texts also have their import. There is a field open to conjecture not only why certain treatises have been included but why this or that particular extract from a past work was made. If the manuscript was not put together for professional purposes and does not deal with any one special field of knowledge exclusively, its combination of subjects provides further food for thought as to the type of mind back of this conglomeration of ideas. Why were these treatises on different topics thus brought together? This last question may also to be asked in the case of manuscripts written in different hands or of which the component parts were bound together at a later date. Why were they bound together? [...]
> There may further be significance in the order in which related works occur, although, as far as my knowledge goes, there is likely to be more variety than uniformity in this respect.

This article is worth being quoted in length, since it elegantly sketches a research programme which after seventy subsequent years later is still in the process of being implemented. Both 'one-volume library' and 'working library' convey the same idea of an individual collection of texts in one book that contains all its scribe or patron might need for professional or other purposes. In some cases such a 'one-volume library' might even represent a real library or parts of it.

While Rosenthal was mainly concerned with the texts of his manuscript, Thorndike already indicated the basic distinction between text and material object: some manuscripts were produced as one book with two or more texts, while others were 'bound together later' and consisted of formerly independent 'component parts.'[4] At the same time, this 'codicological distinction' becomes blurred again

4 This distinction resembles the one given much earlier by the German medievalist Edward Schröder (1858–1942) in 1939 who distinguished between 'Sammelhandschriften' and 'Miszel-

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when Thorndike calls both types 'composite manuscripts', which as a category is clearly motivated by his textual approach.[5] The same observation is applicable to catalogue entries and literary studies where, up to the present day, categories such as 'miscellany', 'recueil' or 'Sammelhandschrift' are sometimes used for both,[6] even though certain fields have conventions for their distinction.[7]

*

In the 1980s, scholars of European medieval literatures showed a growing interest in 'miscellanies' and the concept of 'miscellaneity.' Concepts such as *mouvance* (Zumthor 1972)[8] and *variance* (Cerquiglini 1989)[9] had led to increasing uneasiness with modern scholars' approach to manuscript evidence, which, in their editions, was usually reduced to one text with the help of a stemmatological

lanhandschriften': '[Miszellanhandschriften sind durch] Einreihung und Zusammenbinden, jedenfalls aber durch Mitwirkung mehrerer Schreiber zustandegekommen', 169–70. Schröder suggested this classification already in 1924: 'Von diesen sammelhandschriften im engern sinne, [...], möchte ich unterscheiden die miscellanhandschriften, in denen man stücke ganz verschiedenen charakters [...] zusammenfasste' (1924, viii.). It was taken up by Arend Mihm, another German medievalist, in 1967 who introduced the terms 'Faszikel' for the components for the latter and 'Zäsur' for the borders between them, where discontinuity is observable. For an independent approach see the works by Pamela Robinson starting in 1978 with "The 'Booklet': Self-contained units in composite manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon period" until up to 2008: "The Format of Books – Books, Booklets and Rolls". – Further digging would probably unearth more observations of this kind, long before the more recent interest in codicology.

5 'Composite manuscript' is still used in the same sense and with only limited attention to codicological features by Murray Evans 1995.

6 For the first, see e.g. Arthur Bahr 2015, 182: '"miscellany" offers a practical way of designating a multi-text manuscript book whose contents exhibit a substantial degree of variety (of languages, genres, authors, literary forms, etc.).'

7 In German studies, for example, the composite has come to be called 'zusammengesetzte Handschrift', while the other type retains the name 'Sammelhandschrift', but even this is not unambiguous, see *Richtlinien Handschriftenkatalogisierung* 1992, 12: 'Sammelhandschriften, deren Teile zwar verschieden angelegt sind, sich aber doch dem Buchganzen einfügen (der Unterschied zu zusammengesetzten Handschriften ist oft nicht eindeutig zu fixieren) [...].' See, for instance, in recent studies: '"Sammelhandschrift" und "zusammengesetzte Handschrift" sind nicht synonyme Begriffe'. Karin Kranich-Hofbauer 2010, 320–21.

8 Zumthor 1972, *id*. 1986, 96, fn. 49: 'By *mouvance* I mean to indicate that any work, in its manuscript tradition, appears as a constellation of elements, each of which may be the object of variations in the course of time or across space. The notion of *mouvance* implies that the work has no authentic text properly speaking, but that it is constituted by an abstract scheme, materialized in an unstable way from manuscript to manuscript, from performance to performance.'

9 Cerquiglini 1989 and 1999 (English translation).

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method. A call for a 'new' philology was followed by the idea of 'material philology' as outlined by the Romance scholar Stephen G. Nichols:

> Material philology takes as its point of departure the premise that one should study or theorize medieval literature by reinserting it directly into the *vif* of its historical context by privileging the material artifact(s) that convey this literature to us: the manuscript. This view sees the manuscript not as a passive record, but as a historical document thrusting itself into history and whose very materiality makes it a medieval event, a cultural drama.[10]

In 1996, Nichols and the German medievalist Siegfried Wenzel edited *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* which became a milestone for the study of 'miscellanies' in European medieval literary studies. In their introduction they call for 'attention to the single manuscript as a historical artifact' by taking the following into account:

> Such features as the ink and script of a given text; the quality and size of the material on which it is written; the layout in which it presents itself to the eye; the makeup of each individual volume, with its gatherings, colophons, subscriptions, and binding; further, the company of other works in which a given text was first gathered and has been preserved; and finally, its particular textual variants, especially those that resulted from factors other than scribal misreading or carelessness—all these features yield information, over and above that implied in the texts themselves, about the text's audience, its purpose and even the intention an individual scribe may have had in producing this particular copy. Beyond transmitting basic information about a given text, they speak to us about its social, commercial, and intellectual organization at the moment of its inscription.[11]

This *materialist philology* 'goes beyond traditional textual criticism' and

> postulates the possibility that a given manuscript, having been organized along certain principles, may well present its text(s) according to its own agenda, as worked out by the person who planned and supervised the production of the manuscript. Far from being a transparent or neutral vehicle, the codex can have a typological identity that affects the way we read and understand the texts it presents. The manuscript agency—manuscript kind or identity—can thus offer social or anthropological insights into the way its texts were or could have been read by the patron or public to which it was diffused.[12]

10 Nichols 1997, 10–11. – See an earlier article by the same author ("Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture" (1990), where another context is provided: the marginalization of medieval studies by 'modernist colleagues' (1990, 2).
11 Nichols and Wenzel 1996, 1.
12 Nichols and Wenzel 1996, 2.

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While still using the term 'miscellany', the editors criticize it at the same time, because it neither provides an 'accurate taxonomy', nor a clarification of 'the relationship of the texts to their codicological context.' It might even be misleading when suggesting 'an arbitrary principle of organisation for manuscripts in which there may be a perfectly clear organizing principle.'[13] The contribution by Barbara A. Shailor in the same volume already suggested 'that *miscellaneous* may not be an appropriate term for describing structurally or textually complex codices.'[14] It is probably not by chance that she arrived at this conclusion by looking back on her experience as a cataloguer.

Numerous case studies have appeared since, taking into account the layout of manuscripts, especially if illuminated,[15] codicological features and the possible intentions of, or reasons for, producing a 'miscellany.'[16] Seemingly it has become established practice to doubt the usefulness of the term 'miscellany' – and then to continue using it. *Insular Books: Vernacular Manuscript Miscellanies in Late Medieval Britain*, a collective volume from 2015, may serve as an example for this observation. Its editors Margaret Connolly and Raluca Radulescu begin their introduction with the following definition: 'A medieval miscellany is essentially a multi-text manuscript, made up of mixed contents, though the ways in which it has been approached by scholars over the years shows that there is little consensus over its definition.'[17] Next, the terminological question is discussed in some depth, starting with textual criteria, then briefly touching on the composite manuscript 'which is a volume assembled from initially separate codicological units or booklets (whether at one point in time or over a long period sometimes spanning centuries),'[18] then returning to matters of content. Finally, a 'cultural' approach is presented: 'Reception studies (of multi-text manuscripts as artefacts and of the individual texts they contain) thus stand at the crossroads between the work of the book historian and that of the cultural historian.'[19]

13 Nichols and Wenzel 1996, 3.

14 Shailor 1996, 153.

15 Nichols has written several articles on what he calls the 'manuscript matrix', basically meaning the layout and the doubling of meaning by adding illuminations to the written text, see for example his contribution "What is a manuscript culture? Technologies of the manuscript matrix", in Johnston and Van Dussen 2015, 34–59.

16 Joshua Eckhardt 2009 is a fine example with detailed descriptions of selected manuscripts but again mainly focussing on texts.

17 Conolly and Radulescu 2015, 1.

18 Conolly and Radulescu 2015, 5.

19 Conolly and Radulescu 2015, 15–16.

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In their contribution on 'a taxonomy of manuscript assemblages' in *Insular Books* Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards consider terms such as 'anthology', 'miscellany' and 'commonplace book' as to be 'often invoked with misleading imprecision', and claim instead: 'It is only by understanding these processes of assemblage that one can determine evidence of some recoverable pattern which might underlie the collocation of contents in a manuscript collection.' They expressly demand 'scrutiny of the physical features of manuscripts, of structures of quire and booklet, and sometimes identification of the compilation of originally distinct manuscript units into a single, larger, composite structure,'[20] and later distinguish between 'purposive and accretive assembling.'[21] While acknowledging the relevance of codicological features, their approach is still conditioned by the 'collocation of varied contents.'[22]

In the same year 2015, almost twenty years after *The Whole Book*, the editors of an ambitious volume on *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*, declared:

> The existence of so many, yet isolated, case studies shows us that there is an opportunity for medievalists to begin analysing the unique contours of manuscript culture writ large. In this regard, we would draw an analogy between studying the manuscript life cycle and studying the human life cycle.'[23]

This biologistic approach of the editors is supported by three theses: firstly, the manuscript is defined as 'process' as much as product while insisting on its uniqueness as opposed to the printed book; secondly, it is emphasized that its entire life cycle should be studied, meaning not only its production, but also its circulation; thirdly, it is assumed that these features resulted in decentralized forms of authority in late medieval manuscript culture.[24] The editors mention their indebtedness to what is commonly called history of the book, but at the same time they insist on the uniqueness of the manuscript and

> seek to avoid a solipsistic brand of "pure" manuscript study as an end in itself and instead to allow analyses of manuscripts to inform and be informed by other academic lines of inquiry – thereby ultimately putting manuscript studies into dialogue with cultural history.[25]

20 Boffey and Edwards 2015, 264–265.
21 Boffey and Edwards 2015, 278.
22 Boffey and Edwards 2015, 273.
23 Johnston and Van Dussen 2015, 3.
24 Johnston and Van Dussen 2015, 4–10.
25 Johnston and Van Dussen 2015, 2.

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The call for linking manuscript studies with cultural history has obviously become part and parcel of the rhetoric of the of literary specialists, including earlier observations by codicologists. Illuminating case studies in *The Medieval Manuscript Book*, and in many other publications, especially on 'miscellanies', are testimony to the fact that this call is equivalent to carrying coals to Newcastle. On the other hand, there is clearly a widespread uneasiness with terminology and theoretical approaches. One of the contributions in *The Medieval Manuscript Book* tries to turn this into an advantage. Arthur Bahr's ruminations about "miscellaneity and variance in the medieval book" start with a definition:

> 'miscellany' offers a practical way of designating a multi-text manuscript book whose contents exhibit a substantial degree of variety (of languages, genres, authors, literary forms, etc.) and whose variety, in turn, creates some degree of unwieldiness for modern readers. Any concept to establish a miscellany as such must be subjective, however [...] Miscellaneity is therefore most useful as a provocation to further investigation and new modes of reading, rather than as an objective designation [...] With that in mind, I offer a second working definition [...]: a complex assemblage of textual parts that does not obligingly present readers with a clear program or straightforward purpose, and which different readers are therefore likely to perceive in meaningfully different ways.[26]

Some conclusions can be made on the basis of the observations so far.[27] To differing degrees literary studies have started considering their material evidence, i.e. the manuscripts as carriers of their texts. By default, texts are the alpha and omega of literary criticism and define its perspective. This fact may be responsible for a certain indecisiveness regarding terminology. Familiar phrases such as 'editing a manuscript' or 'hand-copied codex' signify a persistent generosity

26 Bahr 2015, 182.

27 For simplicity's sake only some contributions have been discussed here. German language sources, although operating in their own sphere of relevance, more or less show a similar pattern: besides impressive case studies, codicological remarks are reiterated, see e.g. Kranich-Hofbauer 2010, 321 who points out – apparently without knowledge of Gumbert, Maniaci or others – the difference between composite and 'miscellany': '[...] hat gezeigt, dass auch eine zusammengesetzte Handschrift immer als ein Individuum wahrzunehmen ist. Sie stellt durch die Art der Zusammensetzung und den dahinter erkennbaren gestalterischen Willen eines Einzelnen oder einer Gruppe immer mehr als die Summe ihrer Einzelteile dar'; Kranich-Hofbauer raises the question with regard to terminology, but only refers to *Richtlinien Handschriftenkatalogisierung* 1992 (2010, 309–310) or Jürgen Wolf 2016 taking a similar approach. English scholarship on German medieval literature follows this usage, see the encyclopaedia entry "Sammelhandschrift" by Sarah Westphal 2001, 691–694, in which '[the] term *Sammelhandschrift* refers, most simply, to a manuscript that has more than one text. [...] Although the word *Sammelhandschrift* is widely used in scholarly writing, its definition offers some surprising complications.'

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when dealing with the 'codicological distinction' between text and physical object.[28]

*

In the last two decades, cataloguers and codicologists have significantly enhanced terminological precision and methodological rigour with regard to the complexities of the codex. The two most influential publications after the turn of the century are probably an article from 2004 by the late Peter Gumbert (1936–2016, Latin codicology)[29] and a 2013 monograph by Patrick Andrist, Paul Canart and Marilena Maniaci (Greek codicology). Building on previous research,[30] both are the result of working closely with manuscripts and reflecting on the properties of the codex as a material object. For the purpose of the present volume, they may be summarized as follows:

In "Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogeneous Codex" (2004), Gumbert distinguishes between the *miscellany* as 'written by one person in one process' and the *composite* as the result of joining 'wholly different items'. After having explained the terms *boundary* (for any discontinuity in a codicological unit such as a change of hand), *caesura* (for those boundaries where a quire boundary coincides with any other boundary) and *block* (for the quires between caesuras), he unfolds the possible relations of the units in a composite and then discusses its possible developments (undisturbed, becoming smaller, growing). Finally, he defines *codicological unit* as follows:

- a discret number of quires,
- worked in a single operation
    - unless it is an *enriched*, *enlarged* or *extended* unit,
- containing a complete text or set of texts
    - unless it is an unfinished, *defective* or *dependent* unit.[31]

Being interested in the 'physical makeup and growth of the book', Gumbert tried to provide an 'analysis of, and a terminology for, the events which may happen

28 The journal *Digital Philology: A Journal of Medieval Cultures*, edited by Nichols since 2012, in principle continues along the same line, at the same time emphasizing the importance of digital technologies.

29 Gumbert 2004a.

30 Such as Erik Kwakkel's distinction between 'production units' and 'usage units', which is duly acknowledged by both, see Kwakkel 2002. Gumbert's article obviously was an immediate response to it. – For a historical survey of Western codicology and a call for material (= *Handschriftenkunde*) and quantitative codicology see Gumbert 2004b.

31 Gumbert 2004a, 33.

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in the life of a manuscript and the structures which are the result of these events'[32]. Thus, all the words in italics in the above definition are terms defined by him in order to describe and analyse the stages in the history of the composite in a quasi-archaeological way.

La syntaxe du codex. Essai de codicologie structurale (2013) is an even more ambitious attempt to conceptually grasp the complexity of the codex as a form of book. Informed by previous research, for which the authors provide a critical survey, they present a set of models which allows for integrating both the constitution and the evolution of the codex over time by distinguishing different types of 'production units' which are the result of one production process, and 'circulation units' which represent the state of the codex at a certain time in its history.[33] Both types of units may constitute a codex or be part of it. Next, a comprehensive phenomenology of possible transformations is given, followed by a similar phenomenology of empirically observable discontinuities in a given codex. Here, all aspects of the codex as an artefact including its material support, quire structure, ruling, hand and content are taken into account. These discontinuities are finally tabulated and may lead to hypotheses for the reconstruction of its history, which is exemplified by the analysis of a complex Greek codex.

La syntaxe is the most advanced approach to the codicology of the codex available today. It marked the departure from what was formerly an 'ancillary science' and served to establish a rigid discipline of its own right,[34] which, by reconstructing the history of a manuscript, grants access to the social and cultural history of the people who produced and used it. The potential of structural codicology for the broader field of manuscriptology and thus for 'grounding' intellectual history (including theology, philosophy, literature, science and other fields of knowledge) must be subject to future exploration. Whether its complex approach and elaborate terminology will gain universal acclaim or will be confined to the domain of the specialists, remains to be seen. There is no doubt, however, that it has the potential not only to become a reference work for the codicology of the codex, but also to contribute to general codicology dealing with all book forms.[35] An updated English version of *La syntaxe* is in preparation.

32 Gumbert 2004a, 22.

33 Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013, 59–61.

34 As early as 2002, Marilena Maniaci drew an analogy between codicology and archaeology, i.e. the structure of the manuscript and the process of book-making.

35 A future general codicology will include scientific analysis, but this is of no concern in the present volume.

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With Hebrew codicology being among the few exceptions,[36] the recent achievements of "Western" codicology have found only little resonance in international scholarship other than in the Classics. One of the reasons for this may be its unfamiliar approach and complex terminology, but most probably linguistic boundaries are much more decisive, since the liveliest discussions are still held in French and Italian. Knowledge of these languages, not to mention other European languages, has been on the decline for decades in the English-dominated international sphere.[37] It is not by accident that an Italian journal has become *the* forum for advanced codicology, but it is held only by few libraries outside of Italy.[38] In most cases, the seminal 1985 work *Vocabulaire codicologique* of Denis Muzerelle is mentioned with regard to terminology. It was translated from French into English and is accessible via internet, unlike Marilena Maniaci's much more refined *Terminologia del libro manoscritto* from 1996, for which no such translation exists.[39] Idiosyncrasies of national philologies probably increase this tendency: the domains of English, German and other non-Romance literatures are to some extent self-contained and produce their own theoretical and methodological frames of reference.[40] On the other hand, codicological features have already entered the favor domain of electronic text editions, and even the renowned 'Text Encoding Initiative' (TEI) has

36 See the 500-page work on Hebrew codicology by Malachi Beit-Arié on the website SfarData created by him and the English summary which is based on Gumbert's work. <http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLI/Hebrew/collections/manuscripts/hebrewcodicology/Documents/Hebrew-Codicology-continuously-updated-online-version.pdf>.

37 Erik Kwakkel 2012 mentions Gumbert and some contributions in English, but none of the French or Italian authors of the last twenty years. – This may of course be the result of an editorial decision, which in turn, speaks in favour of the argument.

38 *Segno e testo. International Journal of Manuscripts and Text Transmission*, Università degli Studi di Cassino, since 2003. – Volume 2, 2004, with the proceedings of an important conference has become a classic. Similarly, a collective volume on cataloguing edited by three Italian scholars represents some of the more advanced aspects of this art, including internet cataloguing, see Crisci / Maniaci / Orsini 2010.

39 Denis Muzerelle, *Vocabulaire codicologique online* <http://codicologia.irht.cnrs.fr/accueil/vocabulaire>; Maniaci 1996. – Gumbert's *Words for Codices*: *A Codicological Terminology in English* (2010) has never been published in book form but can be accessed through Internet <www.cei.lmu.de/extern/VocCod/WOR10-1.pdf>; <www.cei.lmu.de/extern/VocCod/WOR10-2.pdf>; <www.cei.lmu.de/extern/VocCod/WOR10-3.pdf>.

40 Johnston and Van Dussen 2015 is a most welcome attempt to remedy this situation, but there is a long way to go: Kathryn Kerby-Fulton 2015, 252 in the same volume reminds her colleagues not to forget Latin manuscripts when studying vernacular ones. – For the heroes of certain disciplinary approaches see Kathryn Kerby-Fulton 2015, who praises palaeographer Malcom Parkes, for Middle English it seems to be Derek Pearsall, see Connolly and Radulescu 2015, 8–9. – Many other examples can be found.

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included a module 'manuscript description.'[41] Finally, a certain arrogance towards the "positivist" and "ancillary" disciplines may still prevail, although statements such as the following from 2006 have become rare: 'paleographers and codicologists for the most part stick to paleography and codicology. They provide an invaluable service industry, but themselves eschew the translation of their findings into literary criticism and cultural history.'[42]

*

So far, we have only looked at what is considered as the core lands of codex cultures, namely the Greco-Roman traditions and Western European literatures. However, codices have also been produced in Eastern Europe, in the Islamic world and in Central Asia. In these areas, the state of the art is far from having reached the standards achieved elsewhere. On the other hand, a huge project on "Oriental" manuscripts funded by the late European Science Foundation, in which more than seventy scholars from all regions of Europe and beyond participated, produced a massive volume in 2015. This piece of work combines the latest approaches from the more advanced fields, and thus represents an integrated and up-to-date summary of manuscriptology which is not available in the English language to any of the more advanced disciplines. *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction*, edited by Alessandro Bausi et al., provides the state of the art for ten "Oriental" manuscript traditions, ranging from codicology and palaeography to textual criticism, cataloguing and preservation.[43] The *Introduction* thus represents an epitome of scholarship in all relevant languages. However, only those on Armenian, Coptic and Syriac codices discuss 'miscellanies' albeit briefly. Paola Buzi in hers on Coptic manuscripts elaborates on this topic, basing herself on the terminology of Gumbert and thereby constituting an exceptional case.

For Islamic manuscript cultures, the situation is slightly more advantageous than for the Christian Orient. The wealth of extant manuscripts, estimated by some to one million or more, the amount of institutions and persons involved in their preservation and study, and the increasing willingness of donors to fund research led to the creation of 'The Islamic Manuscript Association' in 2005, which has been publishing the journal *Islamic Manuscripts* since 2010. The subtleties of 'miscellanies' discussed in the study of Western codex cultures have not

41 <http://www.tei-c.org/release/doc/tei-p5-doc/en/html/MS.html>, (last accessed 23/08/2016), see also Andrist 2014.

42 Simpson 2006, 292.

43 <https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/comst/publications/handbook.html>.

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yet been fully investigated, but at least two major works have advanced this discipline considerably: François Déroche's *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture arabe* (2000) with its English translation *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script* published in 2005, and Adam Gacek's *Arabic Manuscripts. A Vadecum for Readers* (2009). Both are milestones within scholarly research on codicology of books written in Arabic.

However, in comparison to the progress achieved for Western manuscript cultures there remains much to be done. In many cases, cataloguers and scholars continue to use traditional designations without being aware of the ongoing discussions in other fields. For example, the Arabic term *majmūʿa* (translated as 'collection, compilation', and also 'composite volume;'[44] Turkish: *mecmua*) clearly designates a 'mixed' collection of treatises and personal notes, a 'miscellany' one might therefore say. However, it is rarely clarified whether this term which, in the same way as its European counterparts, was coined with regard to the contents always refers to a manuscript that was produced as one unit, or whether it may also to be used to refer to a composite consisting of subsequently joined components.[45] In this context, however, the exception proves the rule.[46] For "Oriental" 'miscellanies', therefore, the history of research follows, with some delay, more or less the course of study of the "Western" codex. This is only natural and calls for a 'comparative codicology.'[47]

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La syntaxe was only concerned with the codex, but it already mentioned other book forms such as scroll or roll, concertina, the pothi of the Indic world and loose-leaf books such as those in West Africa.[48] Beyond the territory of circum-Mediterranean codex cultures and their offspring, research on the codicology of other book forms

44 Gacek 2001, 26. See also Endress in this volume, 177.

45 Just compare the introductory note of a project of the Austrian Academy of Sciences: 'The philological objectives of the project include the [...] translation of selected parts of the *mecmua*s. [...] Among the research questions addressed in the project are editing problems in relation to texts that have come down to us in a great number of manuscripts (around 60), some of which differ considerably from each other – a situation not unusual for popular Ottoman works.' <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/acdh/en/mecmua> (last accessed 18/08/2016).

46 For example, Raggetti 2015, 172: '[...] two different codicological units, rebound together in a later moment'; 174: '[...] both the two units and the codex itself have a precise intention behind them ...,' [...] 'this multiple-text manuscript can be considered a corpus organizer [...]' – Note that this author's usage of terms differs from the one employed in the present volume.

47 See the works by Malachi Beit-Arié and the publications by Gumbert.

48 Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013, 47.

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has only just begun. With the exception of some case studies, there is little on South Asian or on Tibetan pothi books,[49] even less on South East Asian palm-leaf manuscripts and next to nothing on West African loose-leaf manuscripts, not to mention other writing supports such as birch-bark and book forms such as concertina or scroll. The study of 'miscellanies' for these areas is *in statu nascendi*. This is even more so the case, since the frail condition of pothi and loose-leaf books poses problems for codicological analysis which are quite different from those of the codex, and require scrutiny of the material features of a significant number of manuscripts as a prerequisite for systematic attempts to understand their structure to yield results.[50] Concepts such as 'codicological unit' and 'composite' will at first glance be less helpful for the study of palm-leaf books, because the cohesion of a codicological unit by one thread only, or just wooden boards and a piece of cloth, makes it much more difficult to reconstruct the history of an artefact. With regard to West African books consisting of loose leaves in a leather box, the situation is even more difficult. In spite of these reservations, codicology provides powerful analytical tools for understanding the structure of non-codex books. Additionally, there clearly *are* planned 'miscellanies' in pothi books not only definable by content, but also by the material features of a manuscript, e.g. pagination or foliation and tables of content. There are 'miscellanies' among recent discoveries of birch-bark manuscripts in Gāndhārī dating from the 1st century BCE through the 4th century CE.[51]

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For Chinese manuscript cultures, the situation is different again. Although manuscripts continued to play an important role well into the 20th century, the spread of wood-block printing beginning in the 8th century and the ever-growing production of printed books since the 11th century, have led to a neglect of handwritten books among the educated elite with the only exceptions being manuscripts considered as works of art ('calligraphy') or authentic 'traces' of important persons and drafts of works not yet published. Book collectors and scholars might have found interest in "old" manuscripts if they contained versions of texts not attested elsewhere, but

49 For the latter see Helman-Ważny 2014; and Dotson and Helman-Ważny 2016.

50 The long-term projects 'Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project' (NGMPP, 1970–2001) and 'Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project' (NGMCP, 2002–2014), both funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) have microfilmed an estimated 180,000 manuscripts, a huge treasury which still awaits in-depth study <http://mycms-vs04.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/sfb950/content/NGMCP/ngmcp.xml>.

51 Baums 2014, 183–225.

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otherwise did not pay much attention to the handwritten book and often not even specified whether an 'old edition' was a manuscript or woodblock print. What medieval codices are for the European scholar, therefore, early prints are for Sinologists.[52]

This situation changed radically when at the turn from the 19th to the 20th century the so-called cave-library was discovered in one of the cave-temples at the oasis of Dunhuang in today's province Gansu of China with tens of thousands of manuscripts mainly in Chinese from the 4th through the 11th centuries.[53] For the first time medieval Chinese manuscripts were available now and provided a rare glimpse into a book culture that was marked by the invention of paper and its spread after the 2nd century CE, which occurred in combination with the Buddhist incentive to copy sutras for earning merit and had been more or less forgotten by the time of its discovery. Expeditions from European countries and from Japan appropriated most of the contents of the cave-library,[54] at the same time the Germans excavated 40,000 manuscript fragments in more than twenty scripts and languages in the region of Turfan, another oasis town.[55] Since the 1970s an ever-growing number of manuscripts from ancient China has been unearthed, most of them made from bamboo or wood.

Scholarship on both medieval and ancient Chinese and Central Asian manuscripts has mainly concentrated on the texts, but an increase in awareness for the importance of material features has recently become observable.[56] For the codicology of medieval manuscripts, Fujieda Akira (1911–1998) and Jean-Pierre Drège have contributed major works,[57] and a book-length case study by Sam van Schaik

52 Manuscripts were valued by the Japanese elite much longer. In his *The Book in Japan* Peter Kornicki addresses aspects of the manuscript in Japanese culture, see Kornicki 1998, 78–82. The production of manuscripts dominated book production until the 17th century. Until the late 19th century manuscripts were produced for texts on ceremonies or too sensitive to be published in print-form. There is little known about collecting and readership, but collecting manuscripts in Japan was apparently more valued for possessing "old" manuscripts than pursuing philological interests.

53 See van Schaik and Galambos 2011, 13–34, for an up-to-date account of the discovery and for a discussion of its genesis.

54 For documentation and images see <http://idp.bl.uk/>.

55 For documentation and images see <http://www.bbaw.de/en/research/turfanforschung>.

56 See Giele 2010; Richter 2013.

57 See Drège 1987. Drège and Moretti 2014.

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and Imre Galambos on an extremely complex bi-lingual composite has appeared,[58] while Stephen F. Teiser[59] has been working on liturgical manuscripts, consisting of both composites and multiple-text manuscripts. For ancient Chinese bamboo-slip and wood-slip manuscripts, it is very difficult to decide what a codicological unit is, since the binding threads have mostly decayed. Building on the research of Chinese scholars on marks and verso imprints on bamboo-slips, Thies Staack has developed a refined approach to reconstruct codicological units and, basing himself on Gumbert, sub-units which might have worked in similar fashion to the quires in a codex.[60] Earlier, Marc Kalinowski had codicologically analysed two silk manuscripts, and Matthias Richter devoted a monograph on the comprehensive analysis of one bamboo-slip manuscript.[61]

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The foregoing survey does not claim to be comprehensive or representative. However, the overall picture which it evokes seems to be close to the present state of research on what has been called 'miscellany', 'recueil' or 'Sammelhandschrift': while European codicology has developed a refined set of tools for not only describing, but also analysing the codex both structurally as book form and empirically as an individual artefact, these achievements have been ignored by Western European literary studies to an astonishing extent, although many case studies have in fact successfully dealt with complex codices. With few exceptions, the same holds true for the other codex cultures, even more so for manuscript cultures with different book forms. Here, preoccupation with the text follows traditional European approaches, which still sometimes confuse text and artefact. Thus, less developed disciplines miss the opportunity to enrich their textual study with *all* the historical and cultural information given by manuscripts. The first goal of the editors of the present volume, therefore, was to introduce the codicological distinction and to allow for cross-cultural comparison.

In consequence, the term 'miscellany' will not be used in this volume (for one exception see below), since its persistent ambiguity would always require clarification. Instead we use 'multiple-text manuscript' (MTM).[62] This term designates a codicological unit 'worked in a single operation' (Gumbert) with two or more

58 See van Schaik and Galambos 2011.
59 See Teiser 2012.
60 See Staack 2015, 157–186.
61 See Kalinowski 2005, 131–168. Richter 2013.
62 This term was suggested by Professor Harunaga Isaacson during discussions held at Hamburg in the DFG Research Group 963 'Manuscript Cultures in Asia and Africa' (2008–2011).

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texts or a 'production unit' resulting from one production process delimited in time and space (Andrist, Canart, Maniaci). On the other hand, 'composite' seemingly is already established in the sense as used by Gumbert and others and refers to a codicological unit which is made up of formerly independent units. These two basic types may be found in all manuscript cultures, not only in those dominated by the codex, and they may occur in a wide variety of sub-types and mixed forms as codicologists have taught us, emphasizing time and again that the codex, *per analogiam* the book in general, is an evolving entity, an artefact with a history of its own. How this broad range of 'circulation units' might be related to all types of textual 'genres', ranging from scrapbooks, albums, and diaries to collections of texts of one author, one topic (anthologies, encyclopaedias, florilegia, etc.)[63] or simply collections for professional or other interests of an individual, deserves further research.

The editors of the present volume did not try to impose further terminological restrictions on the contributors, mainly due to two reasons: Firstly, each discipline has developed its own set of terms which especially in case of Asian and African studies often relies on the indigenous ones and is not easily changed; secondly, Marilena Maniaci, who proposed her *Terminologia del libro manoscritto* in 1996, has meanwhile become quite sceptical about the chances of a unified terminology for European codex cultures and now proposes a 'plurilingual perspective' instead. [64] If it is currently not possible to establish one set of terms for a restricted geographic and linguistic area, then attempts to do so for *all* manuscript cultures will be even more futile.

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In 2015, the editors of *Insular Books* declared: 'We can only hope to understand medieval miscellanies fully if these multi-text manuscripts are subjected to multidisciplinary investigation, involving scholars from the various disciplines within medieval studies: ideally this should include not just linguistic and literary specialists, but also palaeographers, codicologists, historians, art historians, theologians, and musicologists.'[65] Even if one deletes 'medieval' this would still be a sensible claim, albeit not new.

63 See e.g. for florilegia J. Meirinhos et O. Weijers 2009.
64 Maniaci 2012/2013.
65 Conolly and Radulescu 2015, 28.

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The present volume is the late outcome of a conference which was organized by the Research Group 963 'Manuscript Cultures in Asia and Africa' at the University of Hamburg, and was funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG) from 2008 to 2011. The conference took place from 7 to 10 October 2010 and was the first scholarly meeting at Hamburg, devoted to topics revolving around the notions of MTM and composite manuscript. After the establishment of Sonderforschungsbereich 950 'Manuscript Cultures in Asia, Africa and Europe' in 2011, which again is generously funded by DFG, and, one year later, of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at the University of Hamburg as an umbrella for all manuscript research undertaken at Hamburg, the topic of MTM was taken up more than once. One of the outcomes is a 'Questionnaire for the Study of Manuscript Collections (Towards a Typology of Manuscript Collections)'[66] representing work in progress; on 24–25 January 2014 the workshop 'Multiple-Text Manuscripts in Multiple Manuscript Cultures' took place, and on 29–30 April 2016 another workshop 'Typology of Multiple-Text Manuscripts' was conducted to discuss the diversity of MTMs and to explore possible classifications of MTMs across cultures. A topic of particular interest was the distinction of 'open' or instable and 'closed' or canonized collections of texts, which allows for integrating codicology and the study of literary genres. Basing himself on evidence from the Christian Ethiopian manuscript transmission, Alessandro Bausi developed the concept of 'corpus organizer' which relates the organization of texts from a culturally acknowledged genre to the physical space of the manuscript.[67]

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The present volume contains eight of the original contributions to the 2010 conference, two additional ones (De Simini, Galambos) and one article which was already published in 2010, but is so relevant to the topic that the decision was made for its inclusion in the present volume (Harper). These contributions present a first attempt to connect the methods of "Western" codicology with neglected codex cultures and with Asian manuscript cultures where the codex has only recently assumed an important role. Thus, the articles not only represent insights of individual scholars into a complex subject matter but also, to a certain degree, the state of their arts. The cross-disciplinary approach of this collective

66 Max Jakob Fölster, Janina Karolewski et al., <https://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/papers/SFB950_Occasional_%20Paper_Ms_Collection_Questionnaire.pdf>
67 Bausi 2010.

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volume demonstrates on the one hand the imbalance in current research but shows on the other hand that 'one-volume libraries' seem to have been produced in many, if not all manuscript cultures.

As previously mentioned, research on codicology, in particular concerning Western codices has made substantial progress, as is apparent in the work of Marilena Maniaci. But the lack of adequate catalogues which do not take into account the 'stratigraphic', 'archaeological' elements of manuscripts hampers a deep analysis. She identifies the modularity of the medieval codex and its potential for development. In her contribution, she emphasises the distinction that should be made between the physical and textual characteristics of the codices. The medieval codex is usually grouped in a sequence of independent quires which made it possible to modify the original configuration. Maniaci shows the structural complexity of Medieval Latin and Byzantine codices and exemplifies in a case study a Latin parchment manuscript which seems to be homogenous but in fact consists of two independent units. In a comprehensive statistical approach, she not only presents the wide spread of MTMs in the Byzantine and Latin Ages, but also highlights the trends and differences that confirm the interest of a comparative approach and call for further comparisons with other manuscript cultures.

Jost Gippert examines the term *mravaltavi* – a special type of old Georgian MTMs. *Mraval-tavi* means 'multi-headed' and 'tavi' has been used to denote parts of texts – in the same way as Latin *capitulum* – chapter. The meaning of the term is clear but what the term indicates is still only vague defined. So far, the term is restricted to a set of codices, most of which match the concept of homiliaries. This term is in use to denote manuscripts with mixed content for a collection of homilies, sermons and panegyrics. They are closely related to the Greek homiliaries, which were used as lections for the feasts of the mobile year. In his article, Gippert reinvestigates on the basis of more recent findings – an analysis of a palimpsest – the original meaning and usage of *mravaltavi:* the term was used for collective volumes comprising homilies, sermons and a few basic hagiographical texts used as lections in the liturgy of certain feast days much earlier than previously assumed.

After a brief critical overview of the Coptic manuscript tradition, Paola Buzi presents the findings of the so-called Hamuli manuscripts (region of the Fayyum) and those of the White monastery located in Christian Egypt. They are dated to a more general period ranging from the 9th through 11th century. She examines Coptic manuscript production in the two monasteries, but was faced with a large amount of work in progress, because little is known about the *scriptoria* in Christian Egypt. The reconstruction of their original codicological unity (based on the

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work of Gumbert) is a feasible approach to the investigation of Coptic MTMs. The MTMs found there are frequently introduced with long titles of varying length and extension – almost comparable to a note. Buzi assumes that the authors of the titles are responsible for the arrangement of the MTMs. Coptic literature was not transmitted consistently, the titles go beyond a simple indication of the contents, guiding the reader's attention towards a new interpretation of old texts. She seeks to identify who is responsible for this selection and these new combinations, or to clarify if they were simply reproduced by copying. Another aspect is the occurrence of *excerpta*, i.e. a private book with summaries of different works and different authors which were compiled by one hand and were read according to the liturgical calendar. She concludes that MTMs indicate the creative and constructive activity of the literary production and are thus one of the clues to comprehend the evolution of Coptic culture.

For Christian Ethiopia, MTMs which transmitted hagiographical, liturgical and historical collections are documented, whereas composite manuscripts are yet to become the object of investigation. However, by interpreting codicological features and in reference to Gumbert, Alessandro Bausi demonstrates that both are closely connected to each other and that a MTM is indeed a copy of a composite manuscript. Based on several case studies and in terms of the creation and organisation, he further concludes that there is a strong interaction between the process of growing MTM collections and the social and historical context. He arrives at this conclusion by exploring the following questions: How and why did producers of manuscripts act first? Which kind of labour division was in place? What were the circumstances giving rise to the production and creation of manuscripts? The production of MTMs always entails the decision whether to include or exclude text, thus creating new textual corpora with different functions. Bausi introduces the concept of 'label' referring to naming practices connected with certain corpora of texts, such as the *Miracles of Mary*, thus adding a cultural category to the codicological distinction between a textual corpus and its material 'body'. In this way, the relationship between texts organized in one manuscript according to an individual 'plan' or programme may become permanent, which may, in turn, influence reception of the corpus and use of the manuscript. This specific way of producing a manuscript is understood as using it as a 'corpus organizer'. At the end, he presents a MTM which is exceptional in many respects, and probably the oldest known non-biblical Ethiopian manuscript.

Despite the fact that composites and MTMs, in particular those containing liturgical and teaching texts, seem to be very frequent in the Ethiopian Islamic tradition, the Islamic MTM tradition in the Horn of Africa had previously remained un-investigated. Alessandro Gori examines the local productions and, in

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a first attempt, categorizes three types of manuscript production: On the one hand, most emerged due to European influence. Travellers, scholars and officials selected manuscripts which they considered to be interesting and then had them copied on notebooks or loose sheets of paper which were bound or rebound together. On the other hand, there are also bound manuscripts containing selected texts which are related to the same subjects. The product was intended for use in teaching and learning practices. Furthermore, there are also liturgical collections which are standardized and were to be read at ceremonies. He enquires whether traces of the MTMs and composite manuscripts establish the link between manuscript production and educational purposes.

Writing in Arabic Islamic culture is closely connected to teaching culture, the interpretation of the Koran through accurate manuscript copies pertained to higher education. The proximity of textual transmission to the teaching tradition of disciplines in the schools of law, the *madrasa*, as well as in the rational sciences, is fundamental for the medieval Islamic civilisation. Many collections represent the course of studies transmitted by the *madrasa*. Gerhard Endress focuses on the individual compiler or reader. In case studies of composites and MTMs, he presents individual collections, 'one-volume libraries', preserved from the 16th and 17th centuries. They demonstrate the corpora taught by an individual scholar, which did not have to be related to a curriculum, but were chosen and compiled as they became available. Also considering annotations, layout and scripts, Endress draws conclusions on the manuscript production and describes the collections as 'growing diaries of philosophical studies' and as 'treasure troves', which make the scholarly activity visible: annotations, comparing variants and commentaries bear witness of the high scholarly activity.

Jan Schmidt presents also 'treasure troves' which may contain up to hundred textual units in two case studies on Ottoman culture. After a brief overview of the Ottoman Literary culture in the Early Modern Age and the conclusion that private libraries seem to have been rare, he demonstrates, in this context, that MTMs in all various forms could flourish. Despite the fact that Ottoman manuscripts consist of a huge variety of collections, including collections in Arabic, Persian or Turkish, little attention has been paid to them. Scrapbooks and albums compiled for personal use offer insights into scholarly and private activity. Notebooks filled with collections of anonymous stories and multiple annotations – of a private or administrative nature – were bought as blank volumes since many pages were unused. Schmidt also presents a composite manuscript from the 15th century (with the novel inclusion of a complete list of contents in the appendix) with parts written in different hands on various types of paper, with some not having been trimmed to the same size. Several leaves were added by pasting. The units are

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fragmentary in nature and the indexing is incomplete. These collections of personal interests have been untouched since their inclusion and can thus be compared to a 'frozen library' or archive.

Florinda De Simini introduces into Indology codicological terms given by Gumbert, critically scrutinizing and modifying 'production unit' in terms of their applicability to palm-leaf manuscripts from Nepal. She examines the process of corpus formation from a codicological perspective on Śaiva literature. This collection, known as the 'Śivadharma corpus', grew around two more ancient works, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* ('Treatise on Śaiva Religion') and the *Śivadharmottara* ('Continuation [of the Treatise] on Śaiva Religion'), until forming a fixed set of eight or nine texts that is widely attested in Nepalese MTMs, both ancient palm-leaf and more recent paper copies. The study of the MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus covers codicological issues while providing insights into cultural practises and the political life of medieval Nepal. The manuscripts clearly illustrate how all elements that are circumstantial to a text and organise it are functional to its contents and uses. Having extended beyond textual variants and also taking into account the various codicological features, it becomes possible to establish relationships between manuscripts that are essential for understanding the corpus formation.

One of the most important manuscripts in Tibetan religious history is discussed in the article of Sam van Schaik. The *Tibetan Chan Compendium* is a MTM which was a found in the library-cave in Dunhuang. The manuscript P.Tib.116 is a concertina and is composed of 124 panels. Van Schaik is able to date the manuscript to the mid-9th century on the basis of the handwriting style. The texts transmitted in the *Compendium* are all well identified but the reasons why they are gathered together have not been discussed at all. Van Schaik investigates the codicological nature of the manuscript. The different types of repair visible on the manuscript suggest that it was carefully mended more than once. The manuscript was part of ritual practice and was used and re-used for the *bodhisattva* precepts ceremony. Van Schaik argues that a close codicological investigation of manuscripts on the one hand and an awareness of the socio-historical background of its creation on the other are both necessary to comprehend the complex genesis.

In 2010, bridging what had become two separate fields of enquiry, namely medieval and ancient Chinese manuscripts, Donald Harper published an article focusing on the issue of the construction of sources and its impact of our modern view when assessing history. Occult knowledge was transmitted over centuries in MTMs (called 'miscellanies' by Harper), whose content was variable. Harper indicates by comparing the manuscripts with the transmitted sources how different the texts are, not only in regard to content but also to format. Harper focuses

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on the compilers, copyists and readers of the manuscripts who seem to have had a decisive influence on the texts. The practice of individuals producing MTMs for personal use was prevalent. Whereas the occult MTMs, produced for personal use, are more fragmented, flexible texts written on wooden and bamboo slips and copied on the backs of other manuscripts without titles or any classification, the compilations, which were ordered by the government, reveal the part of the imperial institutions in promoting, circulating and preserving certain kinds of manuscripts. Harper emphasizes how the compilers of these imperial collections had interest in transmitting a genuine written occult knowledge when compiling their own works rejecting elements that they considered irrelevant or false. In contrast, the manuscripts from the tomb lead us to the actors themselves and to the MTMs they used in their own practice.

The article by Imre Galambos is a case study of the composite manuscript P.3720, which is about 3,5m in length. It is a Chinese scroll from the Dunhuang cave-library, which was discovered at the beginning of the 20th century and is now hosted in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Different texts planned as separate manuscripts from different sources from different times and by different persons were glued together into one single scroll during the 10th century. The scroll is not an exception, but little attention has been attributed to the composite scroll as a specific type of manuscript. On the first glance, it seems that the scroll and its content do not have anything in common, but a closer examination offers insights into the motivation which lays behind the creation of the scroll. Galambos singles out the individual components to find hints for the arrangement and shows that the scroll fulfils a specific need. The scroll was assembled randomly. Contextualizing text, contents and arrangement provide additional interpretations. The different sheets of paper are related to celebrated monks and the Buddhist *saṃgha* of Dunhuang.

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The serious study of MTMs and composite manuscripts from a holistic perspective has only just begun. Much more research is needed to describe and analyse all aspects of MTMs and composites organizing knowledge from a typological and synchronic point of view, with regard to their transmission in a diachronic perspective and in cross-cultural comparison. They hold an important role in determining the grouping, sequence and arrangement, and also the selection of texts, and can put in direct, physical contact, and consequently in conceptual proximity, different knowledge from different times, places and contexts, causing hybridizations and new interpretations. Notions ranging from ‘canon’, ‘anthology’, ‘chrestomathy’, ‘florilegium’, ‘excerpta’, ‘epitome’, and even ‘bybliotheca’ in its narrow sense, to

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'archive', and certainly others (for example, 'corpus organizer'), all appear to be related to specific functions and tasks of the MTMs.[68] These topics will be addressed at another Hamburg conference on MTMs at the end of 2016.

The editors wish to express their gratitude to Hanna Hayduk who co-organized the 2010 conference; to the late Peter Gumbert who kindly provided comments to most of the papers presented here; to Peter J. Pritchard for his attentive proofreading of some articles, as well as to Florian Ruppenstein and Christoph Schirmer from De Gruyter for their continuous assistance, to all institutions providing images and the permission to publish them, to the team of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures; to DFG for generous funding of the scholarly meetings and of the present volume; and of course to the contributors for revising their papers for publication and for their patience.

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68 Notebook literature, anthologies, encyclopaedias and the like have almost exclusively been studied as texts only, while the rich manuscript heritage from religious and professional traditions such as medicine have largely escaped scholarly attention so far.

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Marilena Maniaci

The Medieval Codex as a Complex Container: The Greek and Latin Traditions

1 Introduction

The codex – a brilliantly simple artefact consisting of a sequence of grouped rectangular surfaces, superposed and usually sewn together[1] – appears in the Greek and Latin manuscript traditions from the 1st century BCE and becomes dominant from the 4th century CE onwards. The success of the 'page-turning' or 'page-flipping' book marks a major turning point in the history of text transmission and reception – the outcome of various practical, economic and social developments whose relative importance has not been definitively evaluated.[2]

Whatever the reasons for its adoption, the codex embodies a number of new and advantageous features that have ensured its success over two millennia, and not only in the West. In particular, scholars have stressed its *capacity* – the quantity of text that it can contain – and the fact that this can be expanded, whereas the capacity of a Greek or Latin book roll is limited by its structure and by the conventions concerning its maximum length.[3] The increased capacity of the codex also made it possible to collect within a single book texts whose length would

I wish to thank Mark Livesey for revising my English and improving its style.

1 The term 'codex' and other basic related notions have been variously defined in attempts to distinguish between the physical and textual characteristics of this format and other kinds of paginated writing media. The most recent discussion, together with a new proposal, may be found in Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013, 45–48.

2 The stress placed by Guglielmo Cavallo (see for example Cavallo 1989 and 1994) on the 'sociological connection' between the early Christians and the success of the codex has recently been convincingly questioned by Gamble 1995 and Crisci 2008; the latter bases the enquiry on a survey of early Christian books in roll and codex form.

3 The fragmentary state of most extant papyri makes it impossible to establish the number of scrolls that contain more than one work by the same author; only isolated examples survive (see Johnson 2004 and 2009: 264, 277 n. 6). There is no instance of a single roll comprising several works by different authors or of different literary genres.

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require more than one roll and to create anthologies of works of various authors and subjects.[4]

This possibility of compiling several texts in the same manuscript – and of modifying their number and order in the course of time – is one of the most singular developments in the Greek and Latin manuscript traditions, one that makes the codex clearly different from the modern printed book, whose unitary structure is defined a priori and not subject to changes.[5]

Nevertheless, the emergence and spread of the 'multiple-text manuscript'[6] (MTM) cannot be reduced to a simple matter of space. Apart from its potentially increased capacity, the codex – a set of separate surfaces, usually grouped in a sequence of independent quires – also differs from the book roll in terms of its *modular structure*,[7] which made it possible to modify the original configuration by adding or subtracting leaves or quires or changing their order. The modularity of the medieval codex and its potential for development means that the evocative notion of the 'one-volume library' covers various relationships between the contents of the codices and the physical units of which they are composed. Codicologists have only recently begun to study these relationships. Most of the extant catalogues of Greek and Latin manuscripts, ancient and recent, describe MTMs – or 'miscellaneous manuscripts' as they are usually but ambiguously called – in a partial, unsystematic and often distorted way.[8]

Only a few of the MTMs are in fact structurally homogeneous books, or 'multiple-text monoblock codices',[9] consisting of a single 'production unit'.[10] Many

4 The state of the surviving evidence makes it impossible to establish whether this revolutionary opportunity was already perceived and exploited at the time of the 'birth' of the codex.

5 In contrast with the opinion of (among others) O'Donnell 1996, 'transparency of purpose and lucidity of organization' are not intrinsic features of the early printed book, which was far from being the container of a single text reproduced in a number of identical copies to which we are accustomed today.

6 The adjective corresponds to the Italian 'pluritestuale' (Maniaci 2004), which refers to any codex containing more than one separate text, regardless of its physical structure. The term is defined and used in the same sense by Nyström 2009, 47–48.

7 This feature is surprisingly ignored by scholars who have dealt with the origin of the codex.

8 Relevant contributions have been offered by Gumbert 2004 and 2010; see also Maniaci 2004. Other extensively commented bibliographical references are in Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013, exp. 11–44. As in other cases, terminological confusion reflects conceptual uncertainty, which leads to unsatisfactory linguistic contortions to make the necessary distinctions.

9 'Codici *pluritestuali monoblocco*' (Maniaci 2004, 88).

10 According to Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013, 59: 'une *Unité de production* (UniProd) se définit comme l'ensemble des codex ou des parties de codex qui sont le résultat d'un même acte de production. L'acte de production est l'ensemble des opérations, délimitées dans le temps et dans

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other codices are the product of bringing together under a single cover existing units and/or others created *ad hoc*, which might have occurred at different times, in various ways and for different reasons. These 'multiple-text multiblock codices'[11] may be assembled according to a principle ('organized') or merely for convenience ('factitious'). It is important to note that modularity is not exclusive to MTMs: it may also be a feature of volumes that appear to have homogeneous content (so-called 'single-text' codices) but whose structure reflects some commonality among groups of quires and textual sub-units.[12] It is therefore necessary to distinguish between 'single-text monoblock codices', which have a uniform structure, and 'single-text multiblock codices', which are marked by internal breaks indicated by textual and physical changes.[13] In reality, manuscripts are often more complicated: for example the multiple-text monoblock codices may have been originally conceived as such, or may stem from the transcription of a multiple-block model of which they reflect the structure.[14] Alternatively, a multiple-text multiblock volume may have been obtained by joining several contemporary units designed and produced as part of the same book, or it may also derive from a later combination or several successive combinations of existing units that may themselves consist of multiple blocks, or it may result from a mix of existing units and other units created for the purpose.

The lack of adequate catalogues – ones that are sufficiently precise in listing the contents and particularly in describing the complex structure of the codices[15] – hampers the compilation of an accurate typology of the Greek and Latin MTM that takes into account times and places, cultural contexts, contents, language, functions and uses of the books. The few statistics that I am about to present are

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l'espace, qui créent un ou plusieurs objets ou partie d'objet, dans notre cas un ou plusieurs codex ou parties de codex. Une *Unité de circulation* (UniCirc) se définit comme l'ensemble des éléments qui constituent un codex à un moment déterminé. Elle peut équivaloir à une UniProd ou / et être le résultat d'une transformation.' On the basis of this definition, I would now prefer to speak of 'codici *pluritestuali monounitari*', reasoning in terms of 'production units' instead than of 'blocks'.

11 'Codici *pluritestuali pluriblocco*', or – as I would rather call them now, '*pluritestuali pluriunitari*' (Maniaci 2004, 88).

12 This occurs in several Greek and Latin biblical codices (for the latter see Bischoff 1994; Maniaci 2000), in various exemplars of Dante's *Comedy* (see Boschi Rotiroti 2004) and in other books containing internally structured texts.

13 Respectively 'codici *monotestuali monoblocco*' and 'codici *monotestuali pluriblocco*': Maniaci 2004, 87–88.

14 Ronconi 2007 speaks (14) of 'miscellanee primarie' and 'miscellanee secondarie', though his definition is in my opinion too schematic in focusing on content and underestimates the role played by the structure of the codex in the distinction between the two categories.

15 The limits of the extant catalogues in this respect are well summarized by Andrist 2006 and most recently by Gumbert 2010.

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based on data from previous research. My purposes are simply to provide a rough picture of the spread of MTMs in the Byzantine and Latin Middle Ages and to highlight trends and differences that confirm the interest of a comparative approach and call for further comparisons with other manuscript cultures.

The scarcity and fragmentary nature of surviving evidence prevents us from reconstructing the genesis and spread of 'one-volume libraries' between late antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.[16] In seeking an overall assessment I prefer to focus on periods that are better documented.

2 The Byzantine tradition

With regard to Byzantine production between the 8th and 16th centuries,[17] a database compiled from all the available catalogues[18] of the Greek manuscripts in the Vatican Library reveals that 732 volumes out of 1,435 contain a single text or a collection of works by the same author[19] and that 703 are MTMs collecting texts of various kinds by different authors. In other words, the proportion of one-volume libraries in the sample is just under 50%.[20]

The group of codices containing a single text is easier to characterize because they are fairly evenly divided between sacred books – 380 – and secular books – 352. The distribution by centuries[21] (see Tab. 1) shows an initial prevalence of religious content in the form of Bibles and commentaries, liturgy, homilies, theological

16 The well-known study by Petrucci 1986 establishes a direct connection between the invention of the so-called 'codice miscellaneo' (a library of texts, regardless of physical structure) and the new reading and learning needs of late antique Christian circles, and follows its spread in the Latin world until the Early Middle Ages, mainly in the form of a container for apparently unrelated texts.

17 Byzantine handwritten books, unlike Latin ones, were still regularly produced, at least until the end of the 16th century.

18 Ancient and more recent catalogues of Greek manuscripts list the texts they transmit unevenly and are not usually clear in describing the relationship between content and structure (see Maniaci 2010).

19 This definition must be understood in a broad sense in that many books with a single main text also contain prefatory material and short additions that are not identified in the catalogues. If a strict criterion is applied, the number of single-text manuscripts is significantly reduced.

20 Unless, of course, what is now a manuscript is actually only half of a composite that had been dismantled later. Work from catalogues allows to outline a general overview, but inevitably leaves zones of doubt around every statement.

21 In this and in the following tables, the figure for the 8th century is obviously not significant.

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treatises and hagiographies, followed from the 13th century onwards by an increased presence of literary works of history, poetry, novel and philosophy and technical works on grammar, philology, lexicography, astronomy, medicine, mathematics, law etc.

	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	*Total*
Sacred	1	11	43	117	44	31	59	23	51	*380*
Secular		4	11	13	12	40	64	112	96	*352*
Total	*1*	*15*	*54*	*130*	*56*	*71*	*123*	*135*	*147*	*732*

Tab. 1: Byzantine single-text codices from a sample of 1,435 units with sacred or secular content.

The reversal is part of a general increase in the production of secular books in the late Byzantine period.[22] This trend is accompanied by an overall decrease in the size of the manuscripts, most evident in the volumes containing secular works, where it coincides with and is emphasized by the growing use of paper, paper sheets being smaller (in the most widely used format) and strictly standardized.

Secular manuscripts are also thinner than sacred ones in that they have a lower average number of folios; the difference increases after the 12th century and particularly in the 15th century. This thinning tendency, which does not correspond to increased page density,[23] may be related to a change in literary taste that led to the composition of shorter works; the issue requires further analysis. In the context of a general reduction in book size, the average thickness of sacred books remains more or less stable over time,[24] reflecting more conservative attitudes to textual and book-making choices[25] (see Tab. 2)

22 This general impression needs to be explained through further research. To date, no systematic bibliometric survey has been undertaken to determine the popularity of different authors and text types during the Byzantine millennium.

23 Since the dimensions of the written area are not shown in the catalogues, page density has been estimated indirectly in terms of the ratio between the height of the page and the number of written lines, which does not decrease significantly.

24 The size is conventionally expressed through the semiperimeter of the codex (H[eight] + W[idth]) and the thickness through the number of folios, as stated in the catalogues.

25 The most obvious indicator of the conservative nature of sacred books is the prolonged use of parchment as a writing support, compared with the early spread of paper in the transcription of secular books (see Prato 1984, 74–83).

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		VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	*Avge.*
Sacred	Size (H+W)	630.00	573.09	559.09	575.85	504.32	520.16	531.59	460.04	503.16	*539.70*
	N° of folios	250.00	274.82	259.42	267.61	239.09	264.39	265.19	230.30	218.90	*252.20*
Secular	Size (H+W)	/	539.25	543.00	444.38	555.08	488.18	474.72	417.75	491.11	*494.18*
	N° of folios	/	218.25	252.45	197.77	266.83	225.73	219.58	170.25	216.96	*220.98*

Tab. 2: Byzantine single-text codices from a sample of 1,435 units: average size and thickness according to contents.

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3 The Latin tradition

In the Latin Middle Ages – the 8th to the 15th centuries – single-text codices seem to have been more common than one-volume libraries, whose spread appears to be much more limited. This emerges from the analysis of two large but heterogeneous samples, one of 1,731 codices produced mainly in northern Europe,[26] and the other of 3,466 dated volumes of various origin.[27] In the first sample 75% of the volumes – 1,294 – contain a single text;[28] in the second they account for 85% – 2,931.[29]

The difference from the Greek context must be assessed with caution because it is probably influenced by the uneven nature of the data and the criteria for collection; nevertheless it seems too large to be discarded as purely accidental. The distribution of single-text codices according to content also differs from Greek production, even though the evidence of the two Latin samples is not consistent in this sense: in the northern European dataset, religious literature accounts for 70% of the total, whereas 62% of dated manuscripts contain secular texts (see Tab. 3 and 4). The relationship between the contents of a book and the presence of a date may explain this apparent inconsistency, but this question also requires further study.

	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	*Total*
Sacred	2	23	4	17	96	239	134	400	*915*
Secular	2	8	1	/	18	51	85	166	*331*
Unspecified	1	17	/	1	29	/	/	/	*48*
Total	*5*	*48*	*5*	*18*	*143*	*290*	*219*	*566*	*1,294*

Tab. 3: Latin single-text codices from a northern European sample of 1,731 units with sacred or secular contents.

26 It is the sample collected and used in Muzerelle / Ornato 2004, 45–46. I am grateful to the authors for the data that they have generously supplied to me.

27 I used the online database coordinated by Marco Palma: *Archivio dei manoscritti in scrittura latina datati per anno fino al 1500*: <http://www.let.unicas.it/dida/links/didattica/palma/workinpr/winp_03.htm> (last accessed 23/07/2016).

28 The same value is given by Cartelli / Palma / Ruggiero 2004, 255 based on a sample of 1,457 dated codices described in the *Manoscritti datati d'Italia* (*ibid*., 247–248).

29 The difference between the two figures may partly depend on the level of detail of the descriptions.

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	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	*Total*
Sacred	1	5	10	35	131	880	*1,062*
Secular			2	43	213	1,545	*1,803*
Unspecified				4	7	55	*66*
Total	*1*	*5*	*12*	*82*	*351*	*2,480*	*2,931*

Tab. 4: Latin single-text codices from a sample of 3,466 dated units with sacred or secular contents.

In the transition from the high to the late Middle Ages, Latin single-text codices, unlike Greek ones, show a significant increase in the average number of folios, at least in the northern European sample; the information is unfortunately not available for the other sample. This tendency can probably be explained as proposed by Denis Muzerelle and Ezio Ornato by the production of long and very long texts required for university teaching during the 13th and 14th centuries.[30] Most secular books produced after the 12th century show a distinctly larger size than contemporary sacred books (see Tab. 5).

		VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	*Total*
Sacred	Size (H+W)	613.50	555.60	680.00	492.82	491.32	467.38	430.52	373.95	*513.14*
	N° of folios	201.00	14.39	159.75	231.00	156.14	267.08	212.84	191.49	*179.21*
Secular	Size (H+W)	733.50	487.88	353.00	/	444.17	511.53	540.03	464.80	*504.99*
	N° of folios	132.50	90.25	23.00	/	124.33	201.22	225.32	191.05	*141.10*

Tab. 5: Latin single-text codices from a northern European sample of 1,731 units: average size and thickness according to contents.

30 Muzerelle / Ornato 2004, 74.

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4 The two traditions compared

Although necessarily limited to a few general features, the comparison between Greek and Latin single-text codices provides a glimpse into different social and cultural dynamics that cannot be discussed here; in any case, the available data are inadequate for thorough investigation.[31]

As has been said, the analysis of MTMs is even more limited by their structural diversity. The descriptions in most catalogues do not enable us to discern the sequences of texts copied without material interruptions on a homogeneous medium and those resulting from the juxtaposition of independent units, whether for a specific purpose or for reasons of convenience.[32]

The Greek sample does make it possible to single out 434 definite or probable multiple-text monoblock codices, about 30% of the sample, that were produced in a single working session by one or more scribes.[33] For the remaining 269 codices, the descriptions do not allow us to identify definite or possible multiblock volumes, let alone distinguish between organized and factitious examples. This group will therefore be excluded from the present analysis.

Although the number of texts joined in a single volume in the Byzantine context – which we could call an 'index of multi-textuality' – can occasionally be as high as 60 units, 30% of all multiple-text (presumably) monoblock manuscripts bring together only two works by different authors, and only 15% of the sample contain more than 10 texts (see Tab. 6).

As I have stated elsewhere,[34] a significant increase in MTMs occurs only in the late Byzantine period, particularly in the 13th and 14th centuries. In these, a main text usually located at the beginning of the book is often followed by a series of short or very short texts. The latter together represent a small minority, but their number seems to grow significantly in the Late Byzantine centuries (see Tab. 7).

31 The quantitative estimate should be linked to a qualitative analysis focused on text types, the functions of the books and supposed and actual readers.

32 This important limitation inevitably affects the results of most of the contributions collected in Crisci / Pecere 2004, especially those based on the statistical evaluation of large samples (see Cartelli / Palma / Ruggiero 2004; Maniaci 2004; Muzerelle / Ornato 2004).

33 Bianconi 2004, 315 speaks evocatively of 'miscellanee di mani' to refer to manuscripts written in collaboration by several scribes.

34 Maniaci 2004, 100.

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	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	*Total*
2		4	8	5	3	26	29	36	18	*129*
3-4			6	20	4	20	27	28	26	*131*
5-10	1	1	2	3	3	32	41	16	12	*111*
11–20		1	3	4	2	7	19	1	7	*44*
21–30				1		1	7	4	1	*14*
35–56				1		1	3			*5*
Total	*1*	*6*	*19*	*34*	*12*	*87*	*126*	*85*	*64*	*434*

Tab. 6: Greek multiple-text monoblock manuscripts from a sample of 1,435 units: index of multi-textuality.

	Average number of texts	% after main text	% texts <5 pages
IX–XII	4.83	62.12	1.93
XIII–XIV	6.81	61.36	6.22
XV–XVI	4.86	49.32	2.80
Total	*5.73*	*56.92*	*4.19*

Tab. 7: Greek multiple-text monoblock codices from a sample of 1,435 units: average number and length of associated texts.

With regard to content, Greek multiple-text monoblock books tend to aggregate texts belonging to the same religious or secular genre.[35]

Secular contents prevail in the late Byzantine period, as shown in Tab. 8: the figures refer to the first text in each manuscript, which is usually the longest.

	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	*Total*
Sacred	1	6	9	27	8	32	39	15	17	*154*
Secular		1	10	6	4	55	87	70	47	*280*
Total	*1*	*7*	*19*	*33*	*12*	*87*	*126*	*85*	*64*	*434*

Tab. 8: Greek multiple-text monoblock codices from a sample of 1,435 units: exclusively or predominantly sacred or secular contents.

35 The percentage of codices containing sacred and secular texts is difficult to evaluate exactly with the insufficient information provided by catalogues, especially with regard to minor texts.

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A further observation concerns the thickness of single-text and MTMs (see Tab. 9). Against the background of a general reduction in the number of folios during the late Byzantine period,[36] only the volumes containing a large number of texts tend to be thicker than the average for the century. In other words, in the Byzantine context variety of content does not lead to the production of thick books.

	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	X	XV	XVI	Avge.
1	250.00	259.73	258.00	260.62	245.04	242.61	241.46	180.48	217.63	230.82
2		320.75	198.00	206.75	302.33	244.38	234.17	178.11	152.06	210.12
3–4			254.00	250.75	333.75	252.30	243.67	148.39	238.50	227.90
5–10	494.00	338.00	305.50	301.33	206.67	216.09	235.85	181.31	220.58	225.80
11–20		291.00	304.67	324.75	280.00	260.71	267.63	204.00	235.57	268.80
21–30				310.00		373.00	297.00	237.25	101.00	272.29
35–56				292.00		417.00	332.00			341.00
Avge.	*372.00*	*302.37*	*264.03*	*278.03*	*273.56*	*286.58*	*264.54*	*188.26*	*194.22*	253.82

Tab. 9: Greek single-text and multiple-text monoblock codices from a sample of 1,435 units: average no. of folios according to the index of multi-textuality.

Finally, it is interesting to observe that throughout the Middle Ages multiple-text monoblock codices were always significantly smaller than those containing a single text (see Tab. 10). The difference is independent of the number of associated texts and continues into later centuries, when the average size of the manuscripts decreased. The general trend, at least in the case of monoblock volumes, was for functional needs to outweigh aesthetic concerns, resulting in books of generally modest appearance. This hypothesis requires further investigation, however.

	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	*Avge.*
Single-text	630.00	564.07	555.81	562.70	515.20	502.14	502.00	424.96	495.29	*503.66*
Multi-text monoblock	414.00	522.17	443.37	525.76	437.67	428.52	406.29	397.04	450.52	*428.65*
Avge.	*522.00*	*543.12*	*499.59*	*544.23*	*476.44*	*465.33*	*454.15*	*411.00*	*472.91*	*466.16*

Tab. 10: Greek single-text and multiple-text-monoblock codices from a sample of 1,435 units: size (H.+W).

36 The trend is independent of the material used, parchment or paper.

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The data for Latin manuscripts are, unfortunately, not directly comparable: the number of texts in each codex is specified only for the northern European sample and it does not allow to identify monoblock volumes; hence it is only possible to distinguish between single-text codices and MTMs. Although comparison is affected by this unquantifiable distortion, it is worth pointing out some clear differences between the two categories and drawing attention to some features of Latin MTMs.

First, with regard to the index of multi-textuality, analysis of the Latin sample shows that only 13% of volumes consist of more than 10 texts, belonging to a single or to multiple units (see Tab. 11).

	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	*Total*
2		15	1	3	24	9	5	12	*69*
3–4	1	13	2	4	26	27	19	54	*146*
5–10		10	1	4	36	33	14	66	*164*
11–20	1	2	1	1	11	9	2	23	*50*
21–31					1	3	3	1	*8*
Total	*2*	*40*	*5*	*12*	*98*	*81*	*43*	*156*	*437*

Tab. 11: Latin MTMs – monoblock and multiblock – from a sample of 1,731 northern European manuscripts: index of multi-textuality.

Even among Latin manuscripts, the index of multi-textuality rises over time; conversely, the length of main texts increases considerably, in contrast to Byzantine codices, at the expense of shorter accompanying texts (see Tab. 12).[37]

	Average number of texts	% pages for main text
VIII–XI	4.66	60.44
XII–XIV	6.27	73.10
XV	6.69	82.85
Total	*6.20*	*74.90*

Tab.: 12: Latin MTMs – monoblock and multiblock – from a sample of 1,731 northern European manuscripts: average number and length of associated texts.

37 A tendency to prefer aggregations of texts of the same kind is reflected in the collected data, but descriptions of contents are too vague to support deeper analysis. It must not be forgotten that the logic underlying combinations that look unusual to our modern eyes may have been perfectly clear to the makers and readers of medieval manuscripts.

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Unlike Greek MTMs in the periods under consideration, Latin examples more often contain religious or predominantly religious texts (see Tab. 13; distribution refers to the first text of each codex).

	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	*Total*
Sacred	1	4	1	7	49	44	28	89	*223*
Secular				1	8	36	15	67	*127*
Unspecified	1	36	4	4	41	1			*87*
Total	*2*	*40*	*5*	*12*	*98*	*81*	*43*	*156*	*437*

Tab. 13: Latin MTMs – monoblock and multiblock – from a sample of 1,731 northern European manuscripts: totally or predominantly sacred or secular contents.

In terms of size and thickness Latin MTMs are different from those belonging to the Greek manuscript culture. Latin MTMs are on average thinner than their Greek counterparts regardless of the number of texts they contain and rarely exceed 200 pages. This is also true in the case of crowded miscellanies of up to 20 texts, though their thickness grows in proportion to the number of grouped texts (see Tab. 14).

	VIII-XI	XII–XIV	XV	*Total*
1	159.07	219.83	191.36	*203.81*
2	108.79	136.55	126.92	*127.23*
3–4	124.80	158.22	146.20	*149.20*
5–10	124.27	159.37	142.92	*149.54*
11–20	158.20	171.00	223.13	*193.70*
21–31		274.14	322.00	*280.13*
Total	*143.01*	*204.60*	*183.68*	*191.07*

Tab. 14: Latin MTMs – monoblock and multiblock – from a sample of 1,731 northern European manuscripts: average number of folios according to the index of multi-textuality.

Lastly, Latin MTMs of the high Middle Ages are, like their Greek counterparts, considerably smaller than single-text volumes. The fact that the gap virtually disappears in the late Middle Ages results from the significant decrease in the average size of books containing a single text, whereas there is much less variation among MTMs (see Tab. 15).

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	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	*Total*
Single-text	624.00	508.23	614.60	491.33	502.45	475.14	473.02	400.59	*447.76*
MTM	431.50	434.48	464.00	487.33	528.11	446.54	462.61	394.85	*448.11*
Total	*569.00*	*474.70*	*539.30*	*489.73*	*512.88*	*468.90*	*471.31*	*399.35*	*447.85*

Tab. 15: Latin MTMs – monoblock and multiblock – from a sample of 1,731 northern European manuscripts: average size (H + W).

5 Conclusions

There are overall fewer Greek and Latin MTMs than single-text examples, though MTMs are well represented throughout the Middle Ages, especially in later centuries. My observations do not exhaust the codicological and textual problems related to the appearance and spread of MTMs in Greek and Latin tradition. They are intended to call attention (i) to a number of similarities in Greek and Latin MTMs in terms of the usually limited number of associated texts, the small or medium size of the codices, and the trend towards homogeneity of content, and (ii) to differences in terms of text genres, number of folios and the chronological evolution of multiple-text books in the two cultures.

The data from ancient and recent catalogues are inadequate for further advances in knowledge of Greek and Latin one-volume libraries. The next step is to turn back to direct and deeper analysis of the codices themselves. Each example must be considered and described, regardless of the number of texts it contains, as a complex object consisting of one or more elements produced simultaneously or at different times and possibly in different places. These elements, or 'production units',[38] may or may not have circulated independently. They may have been joined with other elements and originated new 'circulation units'[39] corresponding to stages in the history of the codex, the last of which coincides with the book in its current form. The archaeological study of the codex therefore requires the reconstruction of a 'genetic' history that investigates the origin of each production unit, and a 'stratigraphic' history that reconstructs the succession of forms taken by the codex as a result of the addition or subtraction of units or changes to the existing ones.

A tentative classification of the transformations that a codex could undergo during its life and a proposal for practical analysis of complex manuscripts are given in

38 See above, n. 10.
39 See above, n. 10.

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the recently published monograph written with Patrick Andrist and Paul Canart.[40] Our method is based on the detection and interpretation of selected symptoms of structural discontinuity with regard to content and physical aspects such as materials used, the composition of quires, layout, script types and handwriting, signatures etc. The final stage is to summarize the observed discontinuities in a table with a view to detecting and interpreting cases in which they tend to coincide at the same points.

A simple example – an elegant Latin parchment codex of the second half of the 13th century, will give an idea of how the method works (see Tab. 16).[41] At first sight, codex Z.I.15 of the Archivio di S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome[42] seems perfectly homogeneous in terms of content – Latin translations of works by Aristotle or his school – and page layout – a single-column text box surrounded on the three open margins by a dense commentary laid out in a frame.

A systematic survey of the discontinuities shows a simultaneous change of text, support, quire structure, ruling type, layout and scribe (and also of style of decoration and colour of ink) between quires 21 and 22. This proves that the manuscript is in fact a combination of (at least) two independent and more or less contemporary units, each of which contains a variety of texts copied one after another without material breaks. The only exception is represented by the changement of text on fol. 55r, corresponding to the transition between two 'anomalous' quires, but not accompanied by other discontinuities, whose exact meaning deserves a deeper study.[43] The two main units probably reflect two steps or phases in the same project. But how close was the manufacture of the two independent elements in terms of time and place? Were they conceived from the beginning to be part of the same volume? Did they ever circulate separately? In the absence of external clues, these questions are difficult, if not impossible, to answer. An early intention to join the two parts in a single volume is attested by the transcription in a slightly later hand of an index on the spaces left blank at the beginning and at the end of the codex (fols. IV–V and 321r–323r), and by a commentary inserted throughout the codex on some half-pages and margins. It is clear that a codex with such a physical structure cannot be described as unitary or monolithic, though this has been done until very recently.

40 Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013.

41 In the third column the slash indicates the presence of a discontinuity at the beginning (slash on the left) or at the end (slash on the right) of the page.

42 On the codex see Barbalarga 1986, 606; Kaeppeli 1962, 228 (D99); Kristeller 1967, 560; Lacombe 1955, 1,066 no. 1553; Meersseman 1947, 630 no. 409. A catalogue of the small collection of the Dominican convent, comprising 18 mostly unknown codices, has been published by Stefania Calì (Calì 2010: see 77–81 for codex Z.I.15), to whom I am grateful for allowing me to use data from her description.

43 The exact nature of the two final folios (a later addition?) would also require a supplementary investigation.

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Quires	Folios	Text	Support	Quiring	Hands	Ruling type	Layout
1^{12} (1–12)		/T1	/Su1	/Q1	/H1	/RT1	/L1
2^{12} (13–24)							
3^{12} (25–36)							
4^{12} (37–48)				Q1/			
5^{6} (49–54)	51r 51v 54v	T1/ /T2 T2/		/Q2 Q2/			
6^{10+2} (55–66)	55r	/T3		/Q3 Q3/			
7^{12} (67–78)				/Q4			
8^{12} (79–90)							
9^{12} (91–102)							
10^{12} (103–114)							
11^{12} (115–126)							
12^{12} (127–138)							
13^{12} (139–150)	141v 142r	T3/ /T4					
14^{12} (151–162)							
15^{12} (163–174)							
16^{12} (175–184, 175 repeated 3 times)							

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Quires	Folios	Text	Support	Quring	Hands	Ruling type	Layout
3 quires (2 senions + 1 quinio?)	185–218		*lacuna*				
17^{12} (219–230)	220r 220v 221r	T4/ empty page/ /T5					
18^{12} (230–241)							
19^{12} (242–253)	249v 250r	T5/ /T6					
20^{12} (254–265)							
21^{12} (266–277)	267v 268r 277r 277v	T6/ /T7 T7/ added notes/	Su1/	Q4/	H1/	RT1/	L1/
22^{8} (278–285)	278r	/T8	/Su2	/Q5	/H2	/RT2	/L2
23^{8} (286–293)							
24^{8} (294–301)							
25^{8} (302–309)							
26^{8} (310–317)	316r 316v 317v	T8/ /T9		 Q5/			
27^{6} (318–323)	318r 320v 321r 323r 323v	 T9 (*des.mut.*)/ /textual integration / / added notes added notes/ empty page/		/Q6 Q6/		 RT2/	 L2/
2 fols. (not numbered)	nn 1 nn 2	/ added notes added notes/	 Su2/			? 	?

Tab. 16: Roma, Archivio del convento di S. Maria sopra Minerva, codex Z.I.15.

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In other much more complex examples,[44] tabular presentation of the discontinuities may help to identify breaks. Each one has to be detected, and its meaning and possible implications have to be evaluated with a view to distinguishing the production units that contributed at various times to the appearance of the codex and the forms in which it circulated. Accurate recognition of the structural complexity of medieval codices, whether they contain one or several texts, is an essential precondition for the study of one-volume libraries. Their historical and cultural significance depends directly on reconstruction of their genesis and possible evolution. There is a wide range of possibilities between the two extremes of perfect uniformity of structure and content and accidental combination of books or parts of books with no material or thematic connection. Thorough archaeological analysis is the only way to identify and understand complex codices, even partially.

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44 Other examples are discussed in Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013.

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Jost Gippert

Mravaltavi – A Special Type of Old Georgian Multiple-Text Manuscripts

Since 1971, the Ḳ. Ḳeḳelizе Institute of Manuscripts of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, now styled the Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts, in Tbilisi, Georgia, has published a scientific journal devoted to 'philological-historical studies' under the title of 'Mravaltavi'.[1] The title was well chosen indeed, given that the term *mravaltavi* has for long been used in Georgian to denote a special type of manuscripts. In his 1975 book on the 'Oldest Georgian Homiliaries',[2] the most extensive investigation on the topic so far, Michel van Esbroeck argued that it was originally conceived as the designation of 'collections' of homilies, sermons, and panegyrics 'quite close to the Greek homiliaries', which were used as 'lections' for the 'feasts of the mobile year'.[3] In the following treatise, I intend to reinvestigate the usage and meaning of the term *mravaltavi* on the basis of some more recent findings.

1 The formation and use of the term *mravaltavi*

In an article of 2001, the Georgian scholar Tamila Mgaloblishvili equated the term *mravaltavi* with Greek '*polykephalon*'.[4] This suggests that *mravaltavi*, just as its proposed Greek equivalent, can be interpreted as an exocentric compound meaning 'multi-head(ed)', consisting of the elements *mraval-i* 'many' and *tav-i* 'head'. As a matter of fact, this kind of formation is not alien to the Georgian language at all. As a comparable case, we may adduce the word *mraval-tuali* which appears as an epithet of the cherubs in a prayer contained in the legend of St. Arethas and his companions;[5]

1 22 volumes have appeared between 1971 and 2007.

2 See van Esbroeck 1975.

3 van Esbroeck 1975, 5: '… un équivalent assez approchant des homéliaires grecs. Conçus pour donner les lectures de la tradition aux fêtes du Seigneur et de la Vierge, ce type de collection a pour armature l'année mobile…'.

4 Mgaloblishvili 2001, 229–236. Long before, P. Peeters had proposed that *mravaltavi* was modelled upon Greek πολυκεφάλιον (1913, 324), obviously under the influence of Ḳ. Ḳeḳelizе (1912, 341) who had translated the term by Russian *многоглав* in the article reviewed by Peeters; see n. 62 below as to the context in question.

5 Par. 74 of the redaction comprised in the mss. Sin.georg. 11 and (Tbilisi) H–353; see the edition by Imnaišvili 2000, 18, l. 17–21. The second redaction (from the Tbilisi ms. H–341, ib. 23–38) does not

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its meaning can be determined to be 'multi-eye(d)', in accordance with its elements, *mraval-i* 'many' and *tual-i* 'eye', and its Greek equivalent in the legend, πολυόμματος.[6] See the text passage in question, which contains one more exocentric compound, *ekus-ekus-prte-* 'with six wings (each)', corresponding to Greek ἑξάπτερυξ as the epithet of the seraphs.

upalo ġmerto, q̇ovlisa-mṗq̇robelo, šemokmedo q̇ovelta ʒalta cisatao, xilulta da uxilavtao, romeli bevreultagan angelozta da mtavarangeloztagan imsax-urebi, ***romlisa çinaše dganan kerobinni mraval-tualni da ekus-ekus-prteni serabinni*** *da daucxromelita bagita ġaġadeben da iṭq̇wan: çmida ars, çmida ars, çmida ars upali sabaot!*	'Lord, God, ruler of everything, creator of all powers of the heavens, visible and invisible ones, (you) who are served by myriads of angels and archangels, **in front of whom stand the cherubs with many eyes and the seraphs with six wings each,** shouting with tireless voices and saying: Holy, holy, holy, Lord Sabaoth!'	Δέσποτα Θεὲ, παντοκράτορ, δημιουργὲ τῶν οὐρανίων δυνάμεων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων, ὁ ὑπὸ μυριάδων ἀγγέλων ὑμνούμενος, **ᾧ παρίστανται Χερουβὶμ τὰ πολυόμματα καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα Σεραφὶμ**, ᾄδοντα ἀσιγήτοις χείλεσιν· Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαὼθ.

1.1 In a similar way, *mraval-tavi*, too, is attested as an adjectival attribute in several Old Georgian sources. Two attestations are met with in the Old Georgian version of John Chrysostom's Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew. In chapter 71 of this work, which relates to Mt. 22,34–46, it is used – alongside *boroṭi* 'bad, evil' – to mark the Pharisees' haughtiness as being a malady or suffering (*vnebay*); the Greek text of the commentary, albeit quite distant from the Georgian version and by no means its immediate model, does confirm this expression by using δεινόν for 'evil' and πολυκέφαλον for 'multi-headed' in the same context. See the passage in question:[7]

xolo raysatws ara inebes mçignobarta mat da parisevelta esevitarta mat ġmrtivšuenierta sçavlatagan sargebeli? amṗarṭavanebisagan da cudadmzuaobrobisa matisa, rametu ***boroṭi ars vnebay ese da mraval-tavi*** *da q̇ovelsave sakmesa šina šeertvis.*	'But why did the scribes and Pharisees not want to benefit from such instructions, embellished by God? Because of their pride and their haughtiness, for **this malady is evil and multi-headed** and interferes in every thing.'	Ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐκέρδαινον, ὑπὸ κενοδοξίας ἁλόντες, καὶ εἰς τὸ δεινὸν τοῦτο πάθος ἐμπεσόντες. **Δεινὸν γὰρ τὸ πάθος καὶ πολυκέφαλον**· οἱ μὲν γὰρ...

contain the prayer, nor does the Armenian version of the legend as edited in Awgerean 1813, 480–510.

6 Cap. VII, 30. in the edition in *Acta Sanctorum* 1869, 747C.

7 See the edition by Çamalašvili 1999, 269, 15–18, and the new edition by M. Šaniʒe 2014, 326, 19–22; for the Greek text see the edition in Migne 1862a, 664.

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In the chapter preceding this in the Commentary (ch. 70, 'On the monks' life and their being soldiers'), the term *mraval-tavi* appears two times, once with *mqeci* 'beast' and once, with *vešaṗi* 'dragon'. In addition, the notion of 'having many heads' is met with in the same context in a decomposed form, applied to 'drunkenness (to which) many evil heads are attached' (*mtrvalobay, mraval asxen tavni boroṭni*). In this case, too, the Georgian version matches the Greek text (ἐπὶ τῆς μέθης πολλὰς ἔστι κεφαλὰς ἰδεῖν). See the synoptical arrangement of the passages in question, which also shows that the 'multi-headed dragon' of the Georgian text is a periphrasis of Scylla and Hydra as appearing in the Greek:[8]

amistws ara ars mat šoris mtrvalobay da naq̇rovanebay, rametu mtrvalobay moḳlul ars ç̣q̇lisa sumita da naq̇rovanebay momç̣q̇dar ars marxvita. neṭar arian igi mqedarni, ***romelta mouḳlavs mraval-tavi igi mqeci,*** *romel ars mtrvalobay. rametu vitarca zġaṗarta mat šina saç̣armartota gamosaxul ars* ***mraval-tavi igi vešaṗi,*** *esret ars č̣ešmariṭad mtrvalobay,* ***mraval asxen tavni boroṭni****: ert ḳerʒo siʒvay, meored mrisxanebay, amier ginebani, imier ṭrpialebani bilç̣ni, simravle cudadmeṭq̇uelebisay …*	'For among them, there is neither drunkenness nor voraciousness, for drunkenness is killed by drinking water, and voraciousness is killed by fasting. Blessed are those soldiers, **who have killed that multi-headed beast**, which is drunkenness. For just like **the multi-headed dragon** is shaped in heathenish fairy-tales, such, verily, is drunkenness, (which) **has many evil heads**: on the one hand adultery, on the second, rage, here revilement, there shameless flirtation, a plenitude of evil talking…'	Διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ μέθη, οὐδὲ ἀδηφαγία. Καὶ δείκνυσιν ἡ τράπεζα, καὶ τὸ τρόπαιον τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἑστηκός. Ἡ γὰρ μέθη καὶ ἡ ἀδηφαγία κεῖται νεκρὰ διὰ τῆς ὑδροποσίας τροπωθεῖσα, **τὸ πολυειδὲς τοῦτο καὶ πολυκέφα-λον θηρίον**. Καθάπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς μυθοποιουμένης **Σκύλλης καὶ Ὕδρας**, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μέθης **πολλὰς ἔστι κεφαλὰς ἰδεῖν**·ἐντεῦθεν πορνείαν, ἐκεῖθεν ὀργὴν, ἄλλοθεν βλακείαν, ἑτέρωθεν ἔρωτας ἀτόπους φυομένους…

1.2 With *mraval-tavi* 'multi-headed' appearing as an epithet of sufferings, drunkenness, beasts, and dragons, we are still far from the use of the term in referring to a special type of manuscripts. In this context, we must first of all consider that *tavi* 'head' has been used in Georgian since olden times to denote parts of texts (and books), possibly based as a loan translation on Greek κεφάλαιον, in the same way as Latin *capitulum*, which yielded German *Kapitel* and English *chapter*. In particular, *tavi* was the designation of the four individual Gospels, which were usually referred to in the form *saxarebay matēs tavi* = 'Gospel, Matthew's chapter' etc. in the manuscripts. It is on this basis that we have to analyse *otx-tavi*, lit. 'four-head(ed)', the Georgian equivalent of the Greek term *Tetraevangelion* denoting Gospel manuscripts (see the examples given below). As an exocentric compound (lit. 'having (the) four

8 See Ç̣amalašvili 1999, 263, 5–12 and M. Šaniʒe 2014, 320, 10–17; Migne 1862a, 659.

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'heads' = chapters'), this is built in exactly the same way as *mraval-tavi*, except for the cardinal number *otx-i* 'four' representing its first member.[9] By the way, this type of compound formation with numerals was in no way restricted to the figurative use of *tavi* denoting 'chapters', as *or-tavi* 'two-headed' proves which appears as the epithet of a dragon in another context.[10]

1.3 The use of the term *mravaltavi* in denoting manuscripts can be documented since the Middle Ages, too. A striking example is found in the typicon of the Georgian monastery of Petritson (Bačkovo) in Bulgaria, which was founded in the second half of the 10th century by Grigol Baḳurianisʒe, a Georgian nobleman from the province of Ṭao-Ḳlarǯeti in East Anatolia, who executed the office of a μέγας δομέστικος τῆς Δύσεως in the Byzantine Empire.[11] Ch. 34 of this text, which is likely to have been authored by the founder himself, summarises the precious items that were donated by him to the monastery, among them several manuscript codices. In the enumeration, which comprises 16 such items, there is one entry that names a 'big *mravaltavi* book', listed between 'St. Basil's Ethics' and the 'Life of St. Symeon'; see the following extract from the inventory which begins with several Gospel codices (*saxarebay*; note that the term *otxtavi* is used for the evangeliaries under nos. 22 and 23):[12]

21) saxarebay erti berʒuli okroyta da šemepṭonita šeḳazmuli romelsa zeda sxenan tualni did-pasisani:	21) one Gospel (codex), in Greek, adorned with gold and coloured glass, with precious stones embedded;
22) sxuay saxarebay erti kartulad çerili ***otxtavi*** *vecxlita šeçedili okro-curvebuli:.*	22) another Gospel (codex), a **Tetraevangelion** written in Georgian, forged with silver, gold-plated;
23) sxuay saxarebay erti mcire ***otxtavi*** *vecxlita mocuaruli:*	23) another Gospel (codex), a small **Tetraevangelion**, forged with silver;

9 M. van Esbroeck even proposed that *mraval-tavi* might have been modelled upon *otx-tavi* ('l'adjectif «polycéphale» paraît calqué sur celui de «tetracéphale»'; 1975, 7).

10 In the Georgian chronicle *Kartlis Cxovreba* (ed. Qauxčišvili 1955–1959, vol. II, 68: *ortavi igi vešaṗi*). – Note that the reduplication of the numeral *ekus-i* 'six' in the formation of *ekus-ekus-prte-* 'six-winged' (see p. 48 above) conveys the meaning of distributionality ('six each').

11 In Georgian: *sevasṭosman da didman demesṭiḳosman q̇ovlisa dasavaletisaman*; see the edition by A. Šanizʒe 1970 / reprinted in A. Šanizʒe 1986, chap. 1, 2 (p. 63, l. 33), and the edition by Tarchnišvili 1954, chap. 1, 10 (p. 8, l. 15); other occurrences ib., Ind., 2 (p. 55, l. 12 / p. 1, l. 14), and chap. 36, 1 / 109 (p. 119, l. 31 / p. 79, l. 28). As to the person see A. Šanizʒe 1971, 133–166; as to the title, Gippert 1993, 109 n. 6. In the chronicle *Kartlis Cxovreba*, the same person is styled a 'commander of the East' (*zorvari aġmosavalisa*; ed. Qauxčišvili 1955–1959, vol. I, 318, l. 8).

12 Chap. 34 in the edition A. Šanizʒe 1970 / 1986, 113–114 / chap. 33, 102 in the edition Tarchnišvili 1954, 74.

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...	...
27) c̣igni erti targmanebay saxarebisa iovanes ***tavisay:***	27) one book, the Explanation of the Gospel (‘**chapter**’) of John;
28) c̣igni erti ġmrtis-meṭq̇ueli:	28) one book, (by Gregory) the ‘Theologos’;
29) c̣igni erti c̣midisa basilis itiḳay:	29) one book, St. Basil’s Ethics;
30) sxuay c̣igni erti didi ***mravaltavi:***	30) one more book, a big ***mravaltavi***;
31) sxuay c̣igni erti cxoreba c̣midisa swmeonisi:	31) one more book, the Vita of St. Symeon;
32) sxuani orni c̣ignni c̣midisa maksimesni:	32) two more books, (by) St. Maximus;
33) sxuani orni c̣ignni ḳlemaksni ...	33) two more books, (by) John Climacus.

The typicon has not only survived in Georgian but also in a Greek version of which at least two copies are known.[13] This version does contain the inventory, too, but with a peculiar difference just at the position under concern, given that it shows but one entry between ‘St. Basil’s Ethics’ and the books of St. Maximus:[14]

(21) Εὐαγγέλιον ῥωμαϊκὸν διὰ λίθων πολυτίμων καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ χειμεύσεως.	(21) one Gospel (codex), in ‘Roman’,[15] with precious stones and gold and enamel;
(21) **Τετραευάγγελον** ἀργυρὸν διάχρυσον ἰβηρικόν.	(22) a **Tetraevangelion**, silver, gold-plated, in ‘Iberian’;
(22) Ἕτερον **τετραευάγγελον** μικρὸν μετὰ ἀργυρῶν μικρῶν καρφίων.	(23) another small **Tetraevangelion**, with small silver inlets;
...	...
(27) Βιβλίον ἔχον τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην.	(27) a book containing the Explanation of St. John’s Gospel;
(28) Βιβλίον ὁ θεολόγος.	(28) a book (by Gregory) the ‘Theologos’;
(29) Βιβλίον ἔχον τὰ Ἠθικὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου.	(29) a book containing the Ethics of St. Basil;
(30-31) Βιβλίον **ἐκλογάδιον** ἔχον τὰ θαύματα τοῦ ἁγίου Συμεών.	(30-31) an ***eklogadion*** book containing the miracles of St. Symeon;
(32) Βιβλία τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου δύο.	(32) two books of St. Maximus;
(33) Βιβλία οἱ Κλίμακες δύο.	(33) two books (by John) Climacus.

13 For details see Gautier 1984.

14 Chap. 33: p. 121, l. 1700 sqq. in the edition provided by Gautier 1984 and p. 53, l. 6 sqq. in the edition by Petit 1904; chap. 34: p. 240, l. 27 sqq. in the edition by Qauxčišvili 1963.

15 There is no doubt that ῥωμαϊκός means ‘Greek’ here, given that the Georgian text has *berʒuli* ‘id.’.

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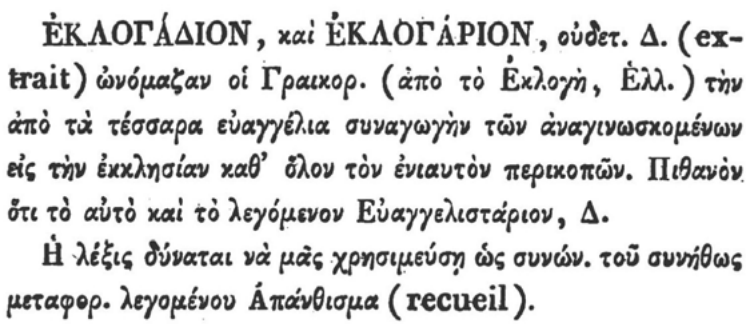
It seems likely off-hand that the Greek version has conflated the two entries no. 30 and 31 of the Georgian text by omitting the beginning of the latter, the *mravaltavi* and the Vita of St. Symeon thus merging into one 'book'.[16] If this is right, we are led to assume that the Greek term (Βιβλίον) ἐκλογάδιον is the exact equivalent of (*ṭigni*) *mravaltavi* 'multi-head(ed) book' here; see the following synopsis where compliant elements are printed in bold:

Βιβλίον ἐκλογάδιον	*sxuay **ṭigni** erti didi **mravaltavi**:*	'one more **book**, a big ***mravaltavi***;
ἔχον τὰ **θαύματα τοῦ ἁγίου Συμεών**.	*sxuay ṭigni erti **cxoreba ṭmidisa swmeonisi**:*	one more book, the **Vita of St. Symeon**;'

1.3.1 What, then, does the term ἐκλογάδιον mean? According to a dictionary of 1835 (Fig. 1),[17] ἐκλογάδιον, as well as its variant ἐκλογάριον, was primarily used in the sense of French 'extrait', denoting collections of pericopes from the four Gospels to be read in church throughout the ecclesiastical year and thus being equivalent to εὐαγγελιστάριον, i.e. 'Evangeliary'. Secondarily it could be synonymous to the term ἀπάνθισμα, lit. 'florilegium', used metaphorically in the sense of French 'recueil'.[18]


ΕΚΛΟΓΑΔΙΟΝ, καὶ ΕΚΛΟΓΑΡΙΟΝ, οὐδετ. Δ. (extrait) ὠνόμαζαν οἱ Γραικορ. (ἀπὸ τὸ Ἐκλογὴ, Ἑλλ.) τὴν ἀπὸ τὰ τέσσαρα εὐαγγέλια συναγωγὴν τῶν ἀναγινωσκομένων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καθ' ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν περικοπῶν. Πιθανὸν ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Εὐαγγελιστάριον, Δ.

Ἡ λέξις δύναται νὰ μᾶς χρησιμεύσῃ ὡς συνών. τοῦ συνήθως μεταφορ. λεγομένου Ἀπάνθισμα (recueil).

Fig. 1: ἐκλογάδιον in the 'Atakta' dictionary 1835.

16 In the edition by Qauxčišvili 1963, '[Βιβλίον]' is supplied in square brackets at the given position (p. 242, l. 10), obviously on the basis of the Georgian text.

17 Ἀτακτα 1835, 61; the formation is missing in all modern dictionaries (Pape, Liddell-Scott, etc.).

18 It is this latter term that is used by Gautier in rendering ἐκλογάδιον in the Greek version of Baḳurianisʒe's Typicon (1984, 120: 'Un livre: un recueil des miracles de saint Syméon'). The Modern Greek translation by Musaeus 1888, 206 omits the term ('βιβλίον τά θαύματα τοῦ ἁγίου Συμεών').

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Both these usages are well attested in Medieval Greek sources. For ἐκλογάδιον in the sense of εὐαγγελιστάριον we may quote a typicon from the Vatopedi monastery on Mt. Athos which contains a similar list of books as part of an inventory as that from Petritson. Here, the edition provides the alternate spelling ἐκλογάδην:[19]

ἕτερον κατὰ Ματθαῖον δεύτερον·	another (book), a second (Gospel of) Matthew;
ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰω(άννην) **ἐκλογάδην**·	another one, the Gospel of John, ***eklogadēn***;
τὰ τέσσαρα εὐαγγέλια διὰ τοῦ Βουλγαρί(ας) ἑρμηνευμένα·	the four Gospels, explained by (Theophylact of) Bulgaria;
ἑξαήμερος τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου·	the Hexaemeron of (John) the Chrysostom;
ἑτέρα τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου·...	other (books), of Basil the Great ...

Apart from this attestation, where ἐκλογάδην is clearly connected with a Gospel text, the word could be used in a wider sense, relating to other parts of the Bible, too. This is true, e.g., for another monastery inventory where ἐκλογάδην appears in connection with the term ἀπόστολος which usually denotes the lections from the Epistles of the New Testament (or, in the sense of πραξαπόστολος, the ensemble of Acts plus Epistles):[20]

Βιβλίον ἀπόστολος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καθημερινός, καὶ	An *apostolos* book for all days of the year, and
ἕτερον βιβλίον ἀπόστολος **ἐκλογάδην**.	another apostolos book **eklogadēn**.
Προφητικὰ βιβλία δύο τῆς ἀκολουθίας.	Two books of the prophets for the *acolouthia*.
Πραξαπόστολος βιβλίον ἓν μετὰ κεφαλαίων...	One *praxapostolos* book with (large) initials...

1.3.2 While this usage still complies with the basic notion of 'collection of pericopes', there are other occurrences of ἐκλογάδιον which suggest that the word had the more general meaning of 'collective volume'. For this we may adduce an example from the Greek version of Grigol Baḳurianisʒe's Typicon again. At the end of the list of manuscripts he had donated to his monastery, we find ἐκλογάδιν (sic!) used in connection with μηναῖον, i.e. a term denoting the collections of liturgical prescriptions for every single month:[21]

19 The typicon (of the monastery of the Theotokos at Skoteine / Boreine in Lydia) of CE 1247 is edited in Bompaire et al. 2001, here: 157; a former edition was provided by Gedeon 1939, 271–290 (here: 280).
20 The typicon of the Monastery of the Theotokos Eleousa in Stroumitza, ed. by Petit 1900, 114–125 (here: 121).
21 Ed. Gautier 1984, 123 l. 1721–23; ed. Petit 1900, 53, l. 18–21; ed. Qauxčišvili 1963, 242, l. 24–27.

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Βιβλίον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσαάκ.	A book of St. Isaac;
Ἕτερον **μηναῖον ἐκλογάδιν** ἕν.	another (book), one ***mēnaion eklogadin***.
Ἐπιλώρικα βασιλικὰ ὀξυκάστορα τέσσαρα, ἐξ ὧν τὸ ἓν χρυσοῦν.	Four royal gowns, from violet silk, one of them with gold…

Here again, we observe a mismatch between the Greek version of the Typicon and the Georgian text, the latter adding one more item. See the following synopsis which suggests the equivalence of *gamoḳrebuli iadgari* with μηναῖον ἐκλογάδιν, as *davitni ertni* following this clearly represents an entry in its own right (one 'David's', i.e. one 'Psalter' book):[22]

44) sxuay ç̣igni erti ç̣midisa isaḳisi:	44) one more book, of St. Isaac;
45) sxuay ç̣igni erti, ***gamoḳrebuli iadgari:***.	45) one more book, a ***gamoḳrebuli iadgari;***
46) davitni ertni:.	46) one Psalter.
47) duray sameupoy oksiḳasṭori otxi, erti matgani okro-ksovili ars:…	47) Four royal gowns, from violet silk, one of them is interwoven with gold…

As Greek μηναῖον can be equated with Georgian *iadgari*,[23] we are left with the correspondance of ἐκλογάδιν and *gamoḳrebul-i* here. Within Georgian, the latter term has a clear structure, being the regular passive participle of the root *ḳreb-* 'collect' with the preverb *gamo-* 'out'; a structure that matches well with the formation of Greek ἐκλογαδι(ο)ν which contains the preverb ἐκ- 'out' and the root λεγ- 'collect'. Both terms may thus be taken to have denoted 'collective' volumes containing materials that were 'extracted' for liturgical purposes.[24] However, we must underline here that the usage of ἐκλογαδι(ο)ν was wider in that it could be used both with μηναῖα and with εὐαγγέλια and the like, while Georgian had to apply different terms in these cases; at least, *mravaltavi* was obviously not usable in connection with *iadgar-i*.

22 Ed. A. Šaniʒe 1970 / 1986, 114; ed. Tarchnišvili 1954, 74 l. 28–30.

23 See the explanation given in Aleksidze et al. 2005, 480, according to which *iadgari* is 'the name of … an universal collection, including chants for the whole ecclesiastical year – (for the Menaia, the movable feasts and the Octoechos)'; according to Lomidze 2015, 74, the term *Iadgari* denoted 'eine hymnographische Sammlung …, die im altjerusalemer Gottesdienst vor dem 8. Jh. in Gebrauch war und vom 8. bis zum 11. Jh. von der georgischen Kirche übernommen wurde', *Iadgari* being 'eine Übersetzung des liturgischen Tropologions der Kirche von Jerusalem'. The term itself is of Iranian origin (Middle-Persian *ayādgār* 'memoir').

24 In the passage quoted above, Gautier translates ἐκλογάδιν by 'recueil' again (1984, 122: 'Un autre ménée: un recueil'); Musaeus simply uses the term 'ἀνθολόγιον' (1888, 206).

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1.3.3 That Greek ἐκλογάδιον had a wider usage is also proven by some attestations in juridical contexts. Here, too, it seems to have had, as an attribute of βιβλίον 'book', the meaning of 'collective (volume)', but in this case referring to laws and decisions. From the edition of such texts by D. Simon and Sp. Troianos,[25] we may quote the following title:[26]

Τίτλος ιζ' τοῦ β(ιβλί)ου ἐκλογαδίου.	**Title no. 17 from the 'ἐκλογάδιον book'**
1. Μηδεὶς τὸν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ προσφεύγοντα βίᾳ ἀφαιρείσθω, ἀλλὰ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πρόσφυγος κατάδηλον ποιείτω τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαμβανέτω τὸν προσφυγόντα...	1. Nobody shall lead away by force a (person) that has fled into a church. Instead, he shall report the guilt of the refugee to the priest and seize the refugee together with him...

1.3.4 All in all, Greek ἐκλογάδιον proves to have had a much wider distribution as a *terminus technicus* in referring to 'collective' codices or books than Georgian *mravaltavi* had. It is important in this context to note that there is no witness available yet that would attest the equivalence of *mravaltavi* and Greek πολυκέφαλον (or -κεφάλιον) in relation to written materials, in spite of the pursuant formation of both terms. To determine the exact meaning of *mravaltavi* in this sphere, it is therefore necessary to investigate its autochthonous usage in more detail.

2 The Old Georgian *mravaltavi*s

According to Michel van Esbroeck's definition quoted above, *mravaltavi* books were 'collections' of homilies, sermons, and panegyrics which were used as 'lections' for the 'feasts of the mobile year', a definition that complies but for parts with the usage of ἐκλογάδιον in the examples discussed so far. Nevertheless, van Esbroeck's definition can be shown to be well founded, all the more since it agrees with the autochthonous tradition. As a matter of fact, the term *mravaltavi* has been applied by Georgian scholarship[27] to a restricted set of codices only, most of them matching the concept of 'homiliaries' in the sense of van Esbroeck. This is true, first of all, for the most famous of these *mravaltavi*s, viz. that of Mt. Sinai (ms. Sin. georg. 32–57–33), which is the oldest dated Georgian codex known so far (of 864 CE, see below).[28] Besides this, the

25 See Simon and Troianos 1977, 58–74 (l. 307t).
26 The edition contains seven further titles of this type.
27 At least since the investigation by I. Abulaʒe published under the title of 'Mravaltavi' (Abulaʒe 1944, 241–316 / 1982, 32–106).
28 The texts of the codex were edited by A. Šaniʒe 1959. As to (undated) older mss. see below.

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set usually comprises the *mravaltavi*s of Mt. Athos (ms. Ath. 11, 11th c.), Udabno (ms. A–1109, 9th–10th cc.), Ḳlarǯeti (ms. A–144, 10th c.), Ṭbeti (ms. A–19, 10th c.), and Ṗarxali (ms. A–95, 10th c.). Common to all these codices is that

a) they contain various individual texts, intrinsically linked to calendar dates that are indicated in the respective titles (e.g., *ttuesa deḳembersa ḳv* = 26.12., or *ttuesa ianvarsa ā çmidisa basilisi* = 1.1., (day) of St. Basil),[29]
b) the texts they contain are mostly homilies authored by Church Fathers (e.g., *tkmuli iovane okroṗirisay natlis-ġebisatws uplisa čuenisa iesu krisṭēsa* 'Speech by John Chrysostom on the baptism of our Lord Jesus Christ'),[30] and
c) more rarely, they may also contain hagiographical accounts (this is especially true for the Ṗarxali *mravaltavi*), but
d) they contain no pericopes or lections from the Holy Scriptures.

It is especially the last-mentioned feature that distinguishes the 'canonical' *mravaltavi*s from εὐαγγέλια ἐκλογάδια and the like as mentioned in the Greek typica.

2.1 The Georgian tradition, which styles these codices '*mravaltavi*s', is well-founded, too, as it is based upon authentic attestations of this term in the codices in question. The most striking testimony is provided by the 'Sinai Mravaltavi' as the most prominent representative of this class of multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs). This codex, stored under three numbers (32–57–33) in the library of St. Catherine's Monastery after having broken into three parts[31] (Fig. 2 showing its outer appearance of today),[32] comprises on 279 pages (140 fols.), written in beautiful majuscule letters in two columns, 50 different texts extending from the 'Speech of St. Gregory, Bishop of Neocaesarea, on the Annunciation of the holy Mother of God' (*tkumuli çmidisa grigoli neoḳesariel eṗisḳoṗosisa xarebisatws çmidisa ġmrtis-mšobelisa*), to be read as the first

29 See the edition of the Sinai Mravaltavi by A. Šaniǯe 1959, 55, l. 1 and p. 70, l. 1 (fols. 54r and 67r of the codex).

30 See the edition of the Sinai Mravaltavi by A. Šaniǯe 1959, 74, l. 2–4 (fol. 70v of the codex).

31 The codex was first described by Cagareli 1888, 193–240 (also printed in Cagareli 1889), in two parts: Cagareli's no. 83 (pp. 234–5) comprises the present nos. 32 and 33, and no. 86 (pp. 236–7), the present no. 57. The same distribution is still found in Marr's catalogue (1940), which describes no. '32–33' on pp. 1–26 and no. '57', on pp. 93–97. Garitte in his *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du Mont Sinaï* was the first to join the three parts (1956, 72–97).

32 My thanks are due to the librarian of St. Catherine's Monastery, Father Justin, who made the codex accessible to me in May, 2009, during a sojourn on Mt. Sinai in connection with the international project 'Critical Edition of the Old Georgian Versions of Matthew's and Mark's Gospels – Catalogue of the Manuscripts Containing the Old Georgian Translation of the Gospels' (project kindly supported by INTAS, Brussels, under ref.no. 05-1000008-8026).

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of three lections on this topic (*saḳitxavni xarebisani*, 'Lections of the Annunciation') on March 25th (*t(tues)a marṭsa ḳe*: fol. 1r, Fig. 3), up to the account of the 'Life of the holy and blessed Fathers who were killed by the Barbarians on Mt. Sinai and in Raita' by one St. Ammonios (*cxorebay çmidata da neṭarta mamatay romelta moisrnes mtasa sinasa da raits barbarostagan, aġçera çmidaman amonios*: fol. 255v),[33] which is followed by a set of colophons (see below).

2.1.1 Albeit the beginning and the end of the codex seem to have survived, it has not been preserved in its entirety as several folios must be lacking in the breakages between the three parts.[34] Luckily, the four pages missing between fol. 84v, the last folio of the part assigned no. 32, and fol. 85r, the first folio of no. 57, have recently been rediscovered in the so-called 'New Collection' of Mt. Sinai, i.e. the bulk of manuscripts detected in St. Catherine's Monastery after a severe fire in 1975.[35] That the two folios constituting the manuscript now catalogued as ms. Sin.georg. N 89[36] do pertain to the *mravaltavi*, can easily be proven even though they have been damaged and some characters of the text are missing, given that they provide first the end of the Third *Catechesis in Illuminandos* by Cyril of Jerusalem,[37] which begins on fol. 77v in no. 32, and second, the beginning of the (Third) *Sermo in Hypapanten* by Hesychius of Jerusalem, which continues on fol. 85r, the first folio of no. 57. In both cases, the transition from the one codex to the other falls into a given word. The two letters *eṭ-* at the end of fol. 84v of no. 32 with no doubt pertain to the verbal form *eṭq̇odes* 'they said (to him)', corresponding to λέγουσι of the Greek text of the Greek text of the sermon; on fol. 1r of Sin.georg. N 89, the subsequent letters have been lost (Fig. 4), but the context clearly continues at the given position as shown in the following transcript:

32,	*r(omel)ni-igi mouqdes ṗeṭres*	those 3000 who came to	Τοῖς γὰρ προσελθοῦσι
84v,	*samatasni*	Peter,	τρισχιλίοις
20-24	*da eṭq̇oda mat,r(ome)lta*	and he talked to them,	ἔλεγεν ὁ Πέτρος,
	-igi ǯuars-ecua k(risṭ)ē.	who had crucified Christ.	τοῖς σταυρώσασιν τὸν Κύριον

33 Apart from A. Šanizе's edition 1959, 266–279, the Georgian text was published, alongside an Arabic version, by Gvaramia 1973, 3–19. A metaphrastic Greek version can be found in Τσάμης / Κατσάνης 1989, 194–236.

34 Šanizе assumes a lacuna of 'ca. 75 leaves' (*daaxloebit 75 purclis ṭeksṭi*) for the breakage between fols. 57 and 33 (see the edition 1959, 151).

35 See Ιερά Μονή και Αρχιεπισκοπή Σινά. Τα νέα ευρήματα του Σινά, Αθήναι 1998, 8–24 and 25–49, and Gippert et al. 2009, p. I–2 as to the circumstances of the finding.

36 See the *Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts Discovered in 1975* by Aleksidze et al., p. 432 f. (in English) / p. 305 f. (in Georgian) / p. 149 ff. (in Greek).

37 Chaps. 15–16, corresponding to the Greek version as edited by Reischl / Rupp 1848 / 1967, 82–86, and in Migne 1857, 445–48.

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	Hḳitxivdes[38] *mas da* ***eṭ-***	They asked him and **sa<id**	πυνθανομένοις καὶ **λέ-**
N 89, 1r , 1-4	***<q̇odes****: ray> [v]q̇ot, ḳacno <ʒmano>, [r(ametow)] didi çq̇low<lebay še>[sm]ine, ṗeṭre, c<odv>[ata]<č(ow)e>[n]ta z(ed)a …*	to him: What> shall we do, men, <brethren,> for a big wou<nd> you have added, Peter, upon our sins …	**γουσι**· τί ποιήσομεν ἄνδρες, ἀδελφοί; μέγα γὰρ τὸ τραῦμα ἐπέστησας[39] ἡμᾶς, ὦ Πέτρε, τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πτώματι…

In the same way, the transition from fol. 2v of Sin.georg. N 89 to the first folio of ms. no. 57 (fol. 85r of the Mravaltavi codex according to the pagination applied earlier) can be proven to be consistent. In a passage alluding to the miracle of Jesus healing the blind man (Jo. 9.1–18), the text of the newly found manuscript ends in the middle of the name of the lake *Siloam*, which continues with its third syllable on fol. 85r (Fig. 5). The homily is not available in any other language;[40] however, it is contained in the Udabno Mravaltavi, which is collated here for the passage in question.[41] It is obvious from this collation that there are but minor differences between the two *mravaltavi* versions:

N89, 2v , 19-25	*Owḳowetow vinme koriḳozi iq̇os owsçavleli,*	If someone were an uneducated (U: ignorant) landsman,[42]	*Uḳuetu vinme kureḳozi iq̇os umecari,*

38 Written with a large initial indicating a new sentence.

39 The edition by Reischl/Rupp (repr. 1967, 84) as well as that in the Migne 1857, 445) inserts a full stop after τραῦμα and begins a new sentence with ἐπέστησας, which yields an awkward wording.

40 The *Sermo in Hypapanten* printed in Migne 1865, 1468–78) and re-edited by Aubineau 1978, 1–43 is too distant to be compared here.

41 See the edition by A. Šaniʒe and Z. Ǫumburiʒe 1994, 117, l. 5–8.

42 The term *koriḳoz-i / kureḳoz-i* seems not to be attested elsewhere in Old Georgian. The proposal by Z. Ǫumburiʒe (in the lexicon attached to his edition of the *Udabno Mravaltavi* 1994, 329) to take this as a corrupted form of *koreṗisḳoṗozi* 'local bishop' is now rendered improbable by the attestation in the Sinai Mravaltavi. As *koreṗisḳoṗozi* clearly reflects Greek χωρεπίσκοπος 'id.', *koriḳoz-i* may accordingly be identified with Greek χωρικός 'rural' (Abulaʒe 1967, 84: 'paysan, campanard, rustique'), which could well be used to denote a 'village idiot' here; see, e.g., the script 'De sacris imaginibus contra Constantinum Cabalinum' ascribed to John Damascene (but allegedly authored by Joannes IV of Jerusalem) in Migne 1864, col. 329 line 17, for a similar usage (ἐὰν ἀπαντήσῃ ἄνθρωπος χωρικὸς, ἄγνωστος τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀξίας καὶ τιμῆς, ἄνθρωπον τοῦ βασιλέως…). – In his dictionary, the 17th century founder of Georgian lexicography, Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani defines *koriḳozi* as a 'king's deputy who would not dare to name himself a 'king', but translates as a 'shepherd'' (*monacvale mepisa, romelman ver iḳadros meped saxelis-deba, aramed gamoitargmanebis mçq̇emsad*; Orbeliani 1966, 232). The passage quoted in mss. D and E of his dictionary, ascribed to one 'Eusebius presbyter' (*evsebi xuci*), is the one from Hesychius of Jerusalem in the wording of the Udabno Mravaltavi, which proves that Saba must have known this codex (or a copy of it): *uḳetu vinme* (< E) *koriḳozi iq̇os* (*iq̇o* D) *umecari, mived* (*movides* E) *betlemad da isçav[os]* (<< D). The definition '(king's) regent (in Kakhetia)' provided

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	mivedin betlemd da isçaven: *owḳowetow vinme brmay iq̇os šobitgan, mivedin* ***silo-***	he should go to Bethlehem and study; if someone were blind from birth, he should go to (lake)	*mivedin betlemd da isçaven.* *uḳuetu brmay iq̇os šobitgan,mivedin* ***silo-***
57, 85r, 1-3	***amd*** *mis ṗirvelisaebr sarçmownoebit* *da manca igive xedvay moiṗoven.*	**Siloam** like that first one, with faith, and he will find (U: receive) the same sight, too.	***vamd*** *mis ṗirvelisaebr sarçmunoebit* *da manca igive xedvay miiġos.*

The close relationship between the two versions of the text is also visible in the title of the sermon, which is now available for collation on fol. 1v to 2r of Sin.georg. N 89 (Fig. 2).[43] In the following synopsis, elements that are written in rubrics in Sin.georg. N 89 are printed in bold; elements that are missing in either one of the two versions are printed in italics, elements that differ otherwise (except for mere graphical differences) are underlined.

	In the month (of) February, 3rd	ttuesa pebervalsa g̅
S(a)ḳ(i)tx(a)vni **migebebisani**	*Lections of the* Hypapante	migebebav
	On the day when Symeon took *the Lord upon his arms*	*dġesa, romelsa miikua swmeon* *mḳlavta twsta zeda upali,*
Tk(owmow)li, ç(mi)disa *da neṭarisa*	Sermon of the holy *and blessed*	tkumuli çmidisa
mamisa, č(owe)nisa, evswki, xowcisa,	*Father of ours,* Hesychius, Presbyter	evsuki xucisay
iē(rowsa)l(ē)misay, meormeocesa	of Jerusalem, on/of *the* twentieth	ierusalēmelisay meormeocisa mis
dġesa, šobitg(a)n k(a)lç(ow)lisavt,	day from the virgin birth	dġisa šobitgan kalçulisa

for *koriḳozi* in Rayfield 2006, vol. II, 2092 is clearly based upon Saba's entry, as is that of Tschenkeli 1970, Bd. II, 1576 ('Stellvertreter des Königs'); the addendum 'in Kakhetia' is likely to reflect the occurrence of the term in the 18th century 'Description of the Kingdom of Georgia' by prince Vaxušṭi Bagraṭioni (Qauxčišvili 1973, 524, l. 5-6 and 557, 18–21: *grigoli… içoda ḳaxta mtavrad anu koriḳozad* 'Grigol … named himself a ruler of the Kakhetians or a *koriḳozi*'; further attestations ib. 129,18, 130,23, 798,18, and, for the derived verb *koriḳozoba* 'be / act as a *k.*', 558,7 and 16).

43 The title clearly indicates that the homily is by Hesychius, not Timotheus of Jerusalem as still presumed (in accordance with Marr 1940, 93) in Garitte's Catalogue (no. 17, 1956, 78). In A. Šanizе's edition (1959.90), the title was supplied from the Udabno Mravaltavi.

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o(wp)lisa, č(owe)nisa i(eso)w k(risṭ)ēsa,	of our Lord Jesus Christ,	uplisa čuenisa iesu krisṭēsa,
odes miiq̇vanes ṭaʒrad :	when they brought him to the temple.	odes miiq̇vanes ṭaʒrad,
V(ita)r-igi, aḳowrtxevda mas	How he was blessed	vitar-igi aḳurtxevda mas
*** ç(mida)y swmeon . ***	by St. Symeon.	çmiday swmeon .
T(towes)a : p(e)b(e)rv(a)lsa : b̲:	In the month (of) February, 2nd	

2.1.2 The transition from fol. 2v of the newly found manuscript N 89 to fol. 85r of the Mravaltavi is all the more evident if we take into account that the two pages bear coherent quire numberings, in the given case nos. ia = 11 and ib =12. The numberings are applied, as usual in Old Georgian manuscripts, in the middle of the bottom margin on the last page of one quire, and in the middle of the top margin on the first page of the next; see Fig. 7 where the respective numbers are highlighted in contrast to each other. Sin.georg. N 89 can thus with confidence be regarded as part of Sin.georg. 32–57–33, representing the last two folios of its 11th quire.

2.2 Returning to the question of the original meaning of the term *mravaltavi*, the Sinai codex becomes especially important because of its colophons. All in all, it is four individual colophons that were added after its last text, the first of them written down by the scribe immediately after the completion of his work, in the same majuscle characters as the main text (fols. 273v–274ra); it tells us that the codex was written by a certain Amona, son of Vaxtang 'the Sinewy' (?),[44] on behalf of a donour named Maḳari Leteteli in the Laura of St. Sabbas in Jerusalem. At the bottom of the same column (fol. 274ra), the scribe added a second colophon, in minuscules, which is on his own behalf. The third colophon, written by the same hand in minuscules again (fol. 274rb), must have been added some time later as it is about the donation of the codex to Mt. Sinai (Fig. 8). The fourth colophon (on fol. 274v) is as well written in minuscules, but by a different hand and at a much later time. Its author is Ioane Zosime, one of the most productive Georgian scribes who lived and worked in St. Catherine's Monastery in the second half of the 10th century; in the present colophon, he reports about the fact that he accomplished the third binding of the codex. On the leaf following this (fol. 275r), Ioane Zosime added the 'Praise and Exaltation of the Georgian Language', a hymn-like text possibly authored by himself, which is found in a few other manuscripts from Mt. Sinai as

44 The epithet *moʒarġuli* is not attested elsewhere; the assumption that it may be derived from *ʒarġvi* 'sinew, vene' is tentative.

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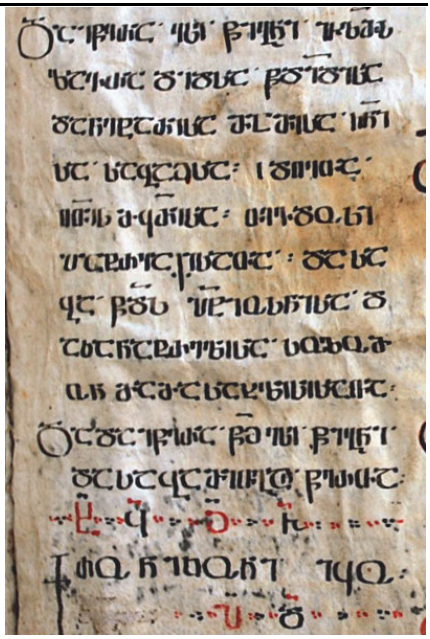
well (Fig. 9 and App. 1 below). As the present binding of the codex (Fig. 2) is likely to be Ioane's, he is also likely to have applied the front and back flyleaves, which stem from a Palestinian-Aramaic Gospel manuscript (Fig. 10).[45]

2.2.1 One important feature of the colophons is that they provide us with at least two remarkable dates – that of the completion of the codex and that of its third binding. As in many other Old Georgian manuscripts, both dates are styled in two ways, once in counting the years since Creation, and once, according to the reckoning of 'chronicons', i.e. cycles of 532 (= 19 × 28) years. In the following transcript of the first dating, characters that are in red in the original are printed in bold again:

Daiçera ese çigni i(ero-wsa)lēms,	This book was written in Jerusalem,
lavrasa didsa ç(mi)disa	in the big Laura of our Holy
da neṭarisa mamisa č(owe)nisa	and Blessed Father
sabay(s)sa dġeta	Saba, in the days
ġ(mr)tis m(o)ġ(owa)risa tevdosi	of the God-loving Theodosius,
ṗaṭreakisata da saba-	the patriarch, and
ç(mi)d(i)s ṗ(a)ṭiosnisa da	the venerable and
sanaṭrelisa solomon	blissful Solomon,
mamasaxlisisata.	abbot of St. Saba's (Laura).
Da daiçera çmiday ese çigni	And this holy book was written
dasabamitgan çelta:[46]	in the year(s) after Creation
$\overline{\text{xwyē}}$	6468,
Kroniḳoni iġo:	The chronicon was
$\overline{\text{ṗd}}$:	84.



45 The text of the flyleaves has been edited by Smith-Lewis 1894, 118–120 (no. 54); it comprises passages from Matthew (14.5–13) and John (2.23–3.2). For the Arabic note overwritten on the back fly-leaf see Garitte 1956, 97 ('*Liber habens homilias, cuius prima de Annuntiatione. Excommunicatus qui amovebit eum e Monte Sina*').

46 The ms. has *çerta* instead of *çelta*, probably by perseveration of *(dai-)çera* 'was written'.

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2.2.1.1 To account for this dating, it is necessary to consider that the Georgian tradition used a peculiar calculation for the date of Creation, which differed from that of the Byzantine Era by 96 years, the first year of our era (1 CE) falling together with year no. 5605, not 5509 as in the latter. The year indicated in the colophon, 6468, is thus equal to 863 CE or, to be more correct, 863–864 CE as the year began on the 1st September as in the Greek tradition. The same information is also contained in the 'chronicon' calculation: by subtracting 84 from 6469, we arrive at 6384 (= 12 × 532), which equals 779–780 CE as the last year of the 12th cycle of 532 years after Creation. Ioane Zosime even addresses the Georgian time reckoning explicitly, in dating his binding to the 'years after Creation, **in Georgian**, 6585, and the chronicon 201', i.e. 980–981 CE (*dasabamitganta çelta* ***kartulad****: xpṗe-sa da kroniḳonsa: s̄a-sa*). That he was well aware of the peculiarity of the 'Georgian style', is proven by the 'Praise of the Georgian Language' because according to this text, Georgian 'has 94 (recte: 96) years more than the other languages since the coming of Christ up to the present day' (*akus otxmeoc da atotxmeṭi çeli umeṭēs sxuata enata krisṭēs moslvitgan vidre dġesamomde*; see App. 1 below for a transcript of the complete text).

2.2.1.2 A third dating seems to be contained in the scribe's personal colophon, which is appended like a signature to the main colophon at the bottom of fol. 274ra. This remains obscure though, as it is introduced by an otherwise unknown formula which combines *çeli* 'year' with preceding *z̃a*, usually the abbreviation of the postposition *zeda* 'on, up, above'. Georgian does know a compound *zedaçeli* but this cannot be meant here as it denotes some kind of 'jacket', in accordance with its being built upon the homonymous word *çeli* meaning 'waist, loins' (lit. 'above-the-loins'). The number, if read correctly as *s̄ē*, would mean 208, i.e. the year 987–8 CE if falling into the same chronicon; this, however, would be much too late to fit into the scribe's lifetime.[47] It seems rather possible that the dating might have been added by Ioane Zosime as he may still have lived by that year, even though the ornamentation of the line is quite the same as that of the main dating while Ioane Zosime's dating in the binder's colophon is without any peculiar decoration (see the excerpts provided with the transcripts below). And possibly, Ioane Zosime left his trace another time on this colophon, in writing *l(o)c(va) q̇(av)t* 'pray!' over the closing dots of its last line.

47 It would be less promising if the number were to be read as *s̄n* which would yield 250, i.e. the year 1029 CE

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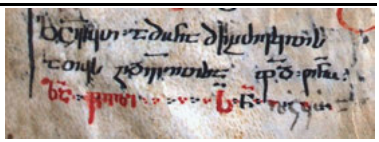
l(o)cv(a) q̇(a)vt : amona mčxreḳlisatws	Pray for Amona the scribe,	
c(o)dvilisa p(ria)d ç(mida)no:	the very sinful one, Saints!	
z̃ã: : çeli :::::: s̄:ē̄ :::	**upper** (?) **year** ::::: **2**08::	
dasabamitg(a)nta	from Creation	
çelta ***kartulad: xp̄ṗe****-sa*	years, **in Georgian**: 6585	
da kroniḳonsa: s̄ā-sa	and in the chronicon: 201	

2.2.2 The datings are crucial indeed for our topic as the colophons provide several attestations of the term *mravaltavi* in referring to the codex itself, thus constituting a *terminus a quo* for its use. This is true, first of all, for the main colophon provided by Maḳari Leteteli through the hand of the scribe, Amona, in the year 863–4. The following extract covers about one half of the text (three fourths of fol. 273v):

Çq̇alobita mamisayta da ʒisayta da sulisa çmidisayta …	By the charity of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit …
Da madlita çmidisa adgomisa saplavisa uplisa čuenisa iesu krisṭēsisayta	and the mercy of the Holy Resurrection from the grave of Our Lord Jesus Christ
Da meoxebita q̇ovelta çinaçarmeṭq̇uelta, mocikulta, maxarebelta …	and with the support of all prophets, apostles, evangelists …
Me, maḳari leteteli, ʒē giorgi grʒelisay, codvili priad, ġirs mq̇o ġmertman šesakmed çmidisa amis ***çignisa mravaltavisa***	I, Maḳari Leteteli, the son of Giorgi Grʒeli, a very sinful (man), was considered worthy by God to create this holy ***mravaltavi*** **book**
tana-šeçevnita ʒmisa čuenisa sulierad ṗimen ḳaxisayta	with the help of my brother in spirit, Ṗimen Ḳaxa,
da qelt-çerita dedis ʒmisçulisa čemisa amona vaxtang moʒarġulisa ʒisayta …	and by the hand-writing of the son of my mother's brother, Amona, the son of Vaxtang 'the Sinewy' …

The term is taken over in unaltered form by Ioane Zosime in his colophon of 980–81 CE:

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Ḳ(wrie elei)S(o)N saxelita ġmrtisayta	Kyrie eleison! In the name of God!
Šeimosa mesamed ç(mi)day ese ***çigni mravaltavi*** *ṭq̇avita zroxisayta*[48] *sina-ç(mi)das*	This holy ***mravaltavi*** **book** was bound (*lit.* clad) for the third time in cowskin on Holy (Mt.) Sinai
qelita iov(a)ne priad cod(vi)lisa zosimesita dġeta oden boroṭad moxuceb(u)l(o)bisa čemisata,	by the hand of Iovane Zosime, the very sinful (man), in the days of my being badly aged,
Brʒanebita da p(ria)d mosçraped moġuaçebita MIkael da MIkael ṗaṭiosanta mġdeltayta,	by order and under very zealous instigation of Michael and Michael, the venerable priests,
Dasabamitg(a)nta çelta kartulad: XPP̣E-sa da kroniḳonsa: SA-sa.	in the year 6585, Georgian style, after Creation and in the chronicon 201.

In his second colophon, which reports about the transfer of the codex to Mt. Sinai, Maḳari uses the term once more himself. Here, however, he adds explicit information on the contents of the book, in a form that may well be taken as a definition of the meaning of *mravaltavi*:

Da me, glaxaḳman maḳari, ševçire çmiday ese ***mravaltavi*** *çmidat-çmidasa mtasa sinas saqsenebelad da sargebelad tavta čuenta da sulta čuentatws.*	And I, poor Maḳari, have offered this holy ***mravaltavi*** to Mt. Sinai, the most holy of all, for the remembrance and benefit of ourselves and our souls.
da amas šina ars šemḳobay çeliçdisa dġesasçaulta q̇oveltay, tkumuli çmidata moʒġuartay.	And in it is the adornment of all feast days of the year (as) preached by the holy leaders.
moec, upalo, ṗovnad çq̇alobay šeni mas dġesa šina sulta čuenta codvilta...	Let, Lord, our sinful souls find your compassion on that day...

2.3 The information provided by the colophons of the Sinai Mravaltavi is by and large confirmed by two later witnesses. One is the Mravaltavi of Udabno, which was already referred to above. For this codex, which is datable to the 9th–10th cc. as well,[49] a scribe's colophon has not been preserved; however, it does contain several later notes in the margins, two of which mention a *mravaltavi mrguloani*, i.e. a '*mravaltavi* (written in) round (letters, i.e. majuscules)', obviously in referring to the codex itself. The

48 The binder's colophon contains a rather enigmatic marginal gloss at the given position, which reads *zroxa ḳacisa* (in two lines). Probably the first word mirrors *zroxi-* in *zroxisayta* 'of the cow' of the text, while *ḳacisa*, gen. of *ḳaci* 'man', will pertain to Ioane's self-designation as being 'very sinful' appearing just to the right of it. Taking it in isolation, the gloss would mean something like 'the cow of man', which barely makes any sense. See Gippert 2015, 102 with no. 6.

49 See Z. Ç̣umburiʒe in the preface to the edition by A. Šaniʒe and Z. Ç̣umburiʒe 1994, 9.

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following transcripts are quoted from Zurab Čumburiʒe's introduction to the edition of the Mravaltavi, according to which they were written by the same hand in an early Mkhedruli script (*adrindeli ṗeriodis mxedrulit*: p. 13). It will be evident off-hand that the second note is an extension of the first one, possibly showing the complete text of what was meant to be an aphorism.[50]

75v	*k(risṭe)* ***mravaltavi mrguloani*** *da sepis ṗiri* *ġmertman uçq̇is da natlis mcemelman*	Christ! The ***mravaltavi*** **in round (letters)** and noble (*lit.* noble person) God and the Baptist knows.
126r	*k(risṭe)* ***mravaltavi mrguloani*** *da sepis ṗiri* *ġmertman icis da natlis mcemelman, romel razom ḳargi ars*	Christ! The ***mravaltavi*** **in round (letters)** and noble (*lit.* noble person), God and the Baptist knows how nice it is.

The second witness is the famous Gospel manuscript of Adishi which, according to the scribe's colophon appended on fol. 387r, was written in 897 CE (6501 after Creation / chronicon 117). A secondary note on the same page, written by a much later hand in *nuskhuri* minuscules, reports the removal, by a certain Niḳolaos, of the Tetraevangelion together with some other codices from Šaṭberdi, one of the centres of Georgian eruditeness in Ṭao-Ḳlarǯeti in East Anatolia, to Guria (Fig. 11). The list comprises, besides the *otxtavi* itself, a lectionary (*qelt-ḳanoni*) and other 'books', a *mravaltavi* that is not further specified. There is good reason to believe, however, that it is just the Udabno Mravaltavi that is meant here as this is likely to have been written in Ṭao-Ḳlarǯeti and was detected in the early 20th century in the Gurian monastery of Udabno.[51] The following transcript comprises lines 6–14 of the note.[52]

50 Interestingly enough, a comparable wording is found in the introduction to the Visramiani, i.e. the Georgian prose translation of the Persian epic Vīs u Rāmīn, which was compiled by the 12th c.; here we read (p. 34, ll. 19–21 in the edition by A. Gvaxaria and M. Todua 1962): *me q̇uela vici da masmia siḳete da sepisṗiroba mati, romel ḳargi hamo ambavia brʒenta da mecniertagan tkumuli da šeçq̇obili palaurita enita* 'I know all (that) and I have heard (of) their goodness and nobleness, which is a nice (and) pleasant story, told and arranged by wise and learned (people) in the Pahlavī language…'. Together with several other attestations of *sepis ṗiri* (e.g., in the chronicle of Queen Tamar's age by Basili Ezosmoʒġuari in Qauxčišvili 1955–1959, vol. II, 149, l. 27; the chronicle of the Mongol invasions by an anonymous 'Žamtaaġmçereli' = 'Chronicler', ib. p. 196, l. 4; or the Georgian prose translation of the Persian Šāhnāme, *Šah-Names anu mepeta çignis kartuli versiebi*, vol. III, ed. Ḳobiʒe 1974, p. 510, l. 21), this seems to suggest the note in the Mravaltavi to have been added after the 12th century.

51 See Taq̇aišvili 1916, 12 in the preface to the facsimile edition of the Adishi Gospels, and A. Šaniʒe and Z. Čumburiʒe 1994, 5 and 9–10.

52 See Taq̇aišvili 1916, 12, and A. Šaniʒe and Z. Čumburiʒe 1994, 9.

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Me n(i)ḳ(o)l(ao)s odesme ǯumatisa m(a)m(a)s(a)xlis-ġopilm(a)n uġirsman da s(u)lita s(a)çq̇(a)l(o)belm(a)n:	I, Niḳolaos, formerly the abbot of (the monastery of) Ǯumati, unworthy and pitiful with (my) soul,
p(ria)dita xarḳebita – ašenen ġ(mertma)n – ḳlarǯetisa monasṭerni ševiaren da ševḳriben ç(mida)ni ese çignni:	with much endeavour I have visited the monasteries of Ḳlarǯeti – may God build them up – and collected these books:
ṗ(irvela)d ç(mida)y ese saxarebay ***otxtavi*** *:*	first, this holy **Tetraevangelion**,
da ***mr(a)v(a)lt(a)vi*** *da qeltḳanoni*	and a ***mravaltavi*** and a lectionary,
m(a)m(a)ta çigni da ḳitxva-migebay...	a book of the fathers and a questions-and-answers (book)...

3 Taking all this information together, we arrive at the following conclusions:

a) the term '*mravaltavi* book' was in use in Old Georgian as early as the late 9th century and continued to be used in the following centuries, and
b) it denoted codices that primarily contained texts authored by Church Fathers for the feast days of the year.

This agrees well with van Esbroeck's definition according to which *mravaltavi*s were 'collections' of homilies, sermons, and panegyrics 'quite close to the Greek homiliaries', which were used as 'lections' for the 'feasts of the mobile year'. The question remains, however, whether and to what extent *mravaltavi*s could also contain hagiographical texts. This question has recently been raised anew by M. Šaniʒe[53] according to whom the incorporation of hagiographical accounts was but a later feature of the Old Georgian *mravaltavi*s.

3.1 First of all, it must be stated here that all *mravaltavi*s treated so far do contain hagiographical materials. In the case of the Sinai codex, this concerns St. Stephen the Protomartyr, St. James, St. Peter, St. Paul, the 40 martyrs of Sebaste, and, at the end of the codex, the fathers of Sinai and Raita.[54] The Udabno and Ṭbeti Mravaltavis con-

53 See the entry 'Mravaltavi' in the list of 'Some Georgian terms used in the text' added to the English part of the Catalogue of the 'New Collection' of Georgian manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Aleksidze et al. 2005, 482; for a more thorough discussion see Esbroeck 1975, 5.
54 Texts no. 9 (fols. 56ra–59vb), 8 (54ra–56rb), 44 (234ra–239vb), 45 (239vb–244rb), 21 (109va–119va), and 50 (255vb–273rb) of the Sinai Mravaltavi. There are also two anonymous texts on St. Basil the Great in the codex, viz. nos. 11 (67ra–68va) and 12 (68va–70vb).

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tain one of the few autochthonous hagiographical texts from first millennium Georgia, viz. the legend (by Ioane Sabanisʒe) of St. Habo of Ṭpilisi, as well as accounts of the life of St. Anthony.[55] To all these we may add the legends on the Apparition of the Holy Cross, the Finding of the nails used in the crucifixion, or the Finding of the relics of St. Stephen, which are represented in most of these codices.[56]

3.2 The *mravaltavi* of Ṭarxali, allegedly the latest of the 'homiliaries' investigated by van Esbroeck, adds about 50 lives and legends after the last homily it contains (i.e. the sermon by Ioane Bolneli on 'Lazarus and the Lord's sitting down on the donkey's foal and his entering Jerusalem and meeting the children', to be read on Palm Sunday),[57] among them the autochthonous legend of the 5th century Georgian martyr, St. Šušaniḳ.[58] The arrangement suggests that this set of texts is not part of the *mravaltavi* proper but represents a peculiar type of martyrology added to it secondarily;[59] this is all the more likely as the hagiographical texts that are met with in the other *mravaltavi*s are not included in the 'extra' collection of the Ṭarxali codex but in its first part.[60] We may therefore assume that there was a fix reservoir of 'basic' hagiographical texts that did pertain to the *mravaltavi* materials traditionally and that the *mravaltavi*s were thus not restricted to homilies in the proper sense right from the beginning. In this respect, we may adapt the wider definition given by Z. Čumburiʒe according to whom

55 In the Udabno Mravaltavi, texts no. 9 (fols. 7r–11v, followed by an 'Eclogue of the holy martyr Habo', *Kebay çmidisa moçamisa Haboysi*, as no. 10, 11v–14r), and 11–13 (fols. 14r–36v); in the Ṭbeti Mravaltavi (A–19, see the descriptions by Gorgaʒe 1927, 1–35, and Bregaʒe et al. 1973, 58–71), texts no. 62 (402b–432b / 202v–203r, including the 'Eclogue') and 63 (433a–451b / 218r–224r).

56 Texts no. 42 (fols. 225rb–232rb), 43 (232va–234ra), and 10 (59vb–67ra) in the Sinai Mravaltavi.

57 *Tkumuli ioane bolnel ep̣isḳop̣osisay lazarestws da daǯdomisatws uplisa ḳicusa zeda da šeslvisatws iērusalemad da šesxmisatws q̣rmataysa*; see Bregaʒe et al. 1973, 380, no. 97. The text of the homily is printed with a French translation in Verhelst 2015, 430–453.

58 No. 107 (fols. 353r–359v), see Bregaʒe et al. 1973, 382.

59 See Esbroeck 1975, 57 who stated clearly that 'il ne s'agit pas en réalité d'un seul manuscrit, mais de deux codices qui ont été reliés ensemble'. It may also be noted that there is a lacuna at the beginning of the 'martyrology' part, which suggests that some peculiar title may have been lost there; see Bregaʒe et al. 1973, 380 and Esbroeck 1975, 55.

60 E.g., legends of St. Stephen and the finding of his relics (nos. 20–24: fols. 52v–71v), St. Peter and Paul (nos. 25–26: 71v–77r), St. Habo of Ṭpilisi (incl. the 'Eclogue', no. 53: 145v–159v), the 40 martyrs (no. 82: 212v–217v), the Finding of the Cross and the nails (nos. 75–76: 197v–201v), or the Vita of St. Anthony (nos. 54–55: 159v–169r); see Bregaʒe et al. 1973, 361–380.

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*mravaltavi*s were ‘collective volumes which comprise works used as lections on certain feast days in church’,[61] as this encompasses homilies as well as hagiographical accounts and the like.[62]

4 Another question that remains open is whether the term ‘*mravaltavi* book’ might have been coined before the Sinai codex was written. As a matter of fact, the very existence of *mravaltavi*-like codices that antedate Sin.georg. 32–57–33 by some time has been claimed for long, especially for the lower layer of the palimpsest manuscripts A–737 of Tbilisi and M–13 of St. Petersburg, which are believed to go back to the early 9th century.[63]

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61 *Udabnos Mravaltavi, 7: mravaltavis saxelit cnobili ḳrebulebi, romlebic ama tu im dġesasçaulis dros eḳlesiaši saḳitxvad ganḳutvnil txzulebebs šeicaven…*

62 In contrast to this, the definition given by E. Taġaišvili in the preface to the facsimile edition of the Adishi Gospels (1916, 12), is disbalanced as it foregrounds hagiography (‘«многоглавъ» (мравалъ-тави). Подъ этимъ названіемъ въ дрѣвнегрузунской письменности исвѣстны жизнеописанія святыхъ и слова и рѣчи отцовъ церкви.’); it may well have been influenced by the occurrence of the term in the compiler’s colophon of a 13th c. menology (of April) which contrasts the ‘metaphrastic’ versions of Saints’ lives (*cxorebata da mokalakobata, da çamebata da ġuaçlta* = ‘lives and ministries, martyrdoms and toils’) with ‘the old *Keimena*, which are also called *mravaltavi* by some’ (*ʒuelisa ḳimenisagan, romelsa vietnime mravaltavadca uçoden*; see Ḳeḳeliʒe 1912, 340–1; note that the adverbial case in *-ad* attested here was erroneously taken to constitute a stem *mravaltavad-i* by P. Peeters 1913, 324). The first attempt to define the term *mravaltavi* is probably Al. Cagareli’s who in his account of the Sinai Mravaltavi (1888, 235: no. 83 ~ Sin. georg. 32–33) styled it a ‘святооческій сборникъ’, i.e. a ‘collective volume of Holy Fathers’. – Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani in his 17th century dictionary (1965, 522 /1966, 516) records only the abstract noun *mravaltaobay* that might be derived from *mravaltavi* (in the sense of ‘*mravaltavi*-ness’ or ‘being a *mravaltavi*’), glossed by him as *mravalganna çilebulivit*, i.e. ‘like (something) much divided’. The addition of ‘*katiġ*.’ in mss. ZAa of the lexicon obviously refers to the ‘Categories’ of Aristotle, as *mravaltaobay* occurs in the Georgian version of the commentaries of Aristotle by the Neoplatonian Ammonios Hermeiou, produced by the so-called Gelati school in the 12th c., where it translates Greek τὸ κατὰ πλειόνων (within the text ‘In Porphyrii isagogen sive quinque voces’, see the edition by A. Busse 1891, 61, ll. 20–23 and the edition of the Georgian text by Ḳeçaġmaʒe and Rapava 1983, 49, ll. 27–33): φησὶ γάρ· γένος ἐστὶ τὸ κατὰ πλειόνων καὶ διαφερόντων τῷ εἴδει ἐν τῷ τί ἐστι κατηγορούμενον· τὸ γὰρ κατὰ πλειόνων διακρίνει αὐτὸ τῶν ἀτόμων (ἐκείνων καθ’ ἑνὸς λεγομένων), τὸ δὲ διαφερόντων τῷ εἴδει διακρίνει αὐτὸ εἴδους καὶ ἰδίου… ~ *rametu iṭġws: natesavi ars mravalta da saxita ganġopiltad rayarsobisa šoris šesmenili. rametu ‘mravaltaobay’ ganarčevs mas ganuḳueteltagan (igini ray ertisad itkumodin), xolo ‘saxita ganġopiltaobay’ ganarčevs mas saxisagan da gantwsebulisa* … It is clear that *mravaltaobay* is not derived from *mravaltavi* here but directly from (the gen.pl.) *mravalta* ‘of the many’ occurring in the sentence before, thus meaning something like ‘the *mravalta*-ness’ in the sense ‘the (use of the) word *mravalta*’.

63 For the former see Esbroeck 1980, 18–21; for the latter, Orbeli 1967, 125–134 (see Esbroeck 1975, 35).

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4.1 An even more archaic *mravaltavi* has been preserved in the lower layer of the palimpsest manuscript S-3902, which must go back to the so-called Khanmeti period, i.e. the first period of Georgian literacy extending from the 5th to ca. the 7th cc. A first attempt at editing its fragments was undertaken by Aḳaḳi Šaniʒe as early as 1927.[64] Depending on the readability of the lower script, the amount of text Šaniʒe was able to restore varies considerably from page to page; in some cases, it is but a few characters per line that could be made out in his days. This is especially true for the homily on the 'Envy of the Pharisees',[65] which is usually ascribed to John Chrysostom.[66] Besides the Khanmeti version represented by the palimpsest, the homily is preserved in Old Georgian in the Jerusalem manuscript Jer. 4,[67] as well as in two Greek recensions, an Old Church Slavonic version available in two codices, and one Coptic version.[68] Of the Greek recensions, it is the one represented by the codex Ottobonianus graecus 14 of the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana[69] which comes closest to the Khanmeti text;[70] together with the Old Church Slavonic version as represented in the famous Codex Suprasliensis of the 10th century[71] and, with minor deviations, in the so-called Uspenskij Sbornik (12th–13th cc.),[72] it provides a good basis for reconstructing the Khanmeti text even where it has been thoroughly erased in the palimpsest. In Appendix 2 below, a

64 A. Šaniʒe 1927, 98–159; re-edited (together with a Latin translation) in Molitor 1956, 65–90.

65 *Parisevelta mat šurisatws*, relating to the passage *xolo parisevelni igi gamovides da zraxva-q̇ves mistws, rayta çarçq̇midon igi* (Mt. 12,14). See Gippert (forthc.) for a thorough study of the homily in question.

66 In the palimpsest, the author is simply named *iohane eṗisḳoṗosi*, 'John the Bishop': fol. 3vb, l. 5 =A. Šaniʒe 1959, 135: 11b, l. 5. See Gippert (forthc.), 1. for a survey of other proposals as to the authorship.

67 Text no. 12 (fols. 65r–66v); see the catalogues by Blake 1922–23, 367, and Mari [Marr] 1955, 48 (ms. '18, 12.'). The text was used by M. Šaniʒe 2009 in her article "Homilia 'Parisevelta šurisatws' xanmeṭ mravaltavši" ("The Homily 'On Jealousy' in *Khanmeti* Homiliary") to establish a 'complemented and reconstructed' version of the homily; see Gippert (forthc.) 2. with n. 28 for further details.

68 See Geerard 1974, 582, no. 4640, where the Georgian Khanmeti version is not referred to explicitly. As to the Coptic text, which was published by Rossi 1889, 49–152bis, and in 1888 [1892], 3–104), see Gippert (forthc.), 1.3.

69 Fols. 123–126v; the text as edited by M. Capaldo (= Kapaldo) is available via the facsimile edition of the Old Church Slavonic Codex Suprasliensis by Zaimov and Kapaldo 1983, 395–404. See Voicu 2012 as to other witnesses pertaining to the same recensions, and Gippert (forthc.), 1.1 and passim as to important shibboleths.

70 The Greek text as printed in Migne 1862b, 705–710 represents the other recension and is a bit less close.

71 Text no. 35, 395–405 in the facsimile edition; see also the edition by Severjanov 1904 / 1956, 395–405.

72 See the edition by Knjazevskaja et al. 1971, 330–336.

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diplomatic rendering of the reading is contrasted with a photo collage (11 multispectral images) of the recto of the bifoliate consisting of fols. 2 and 7[73] of S-3902, and with four Tables that display the lower text of the recto and verso of the same bifoliate as re-established now,[74] contrasted with A. Šanizɜ's reading and collated with the Greek and Slavonic versions.[75] Whether or not this palimpsest may have been styled a *mravaltavi* when it was written down, is not decidable, however, as no colophon has been preserved.[76]

4.2 As another candidate for a Khanmeti *mravaltavi*, we might regard one of the six Khanmeti manuscripts that were re-used in the Georgian palimpsest codex of the Vienna National Library (Codex Vind. georg. 2).[77] The original manuscript in question, of which 38 bifoliates have been preserved, contains parts of the legends of Ss. Cyprianus and Justina and St. Christina;[78] four additional bifoliates of the same original have been detected in the Tbilisi palimpsest A–737.[79] It is not very probable, though, that the two hagiographical texts might be the remnants of a former *mravaltavi*, albeit

73 Several different pagination systems have been applied in the descriptions of S–3902: according to pages of the upper layer, folios of the upper layer, and folios of the original manuscripts. The folios here addressed as 7r and 7v represent pages 13 and 14 according to the first pagination applied, and fols. 2r and 2v, pages 3 and 4. For a rough survey of the codicological structure of S–3902 see Esbroeck 1975, 60.

74 On the basis of a multispectral analysis undertaken by the author together with L. Kajaia, D. Tvaltvadze, and S. Sardjveladze in Tbilisi, 2005.

75 The present reading was first proposed publicly in a paper read on the *1st International Symposium 'Georgian Manuscripts'* in Tbilisi, Oct. 21, 2009 ('New Prospects in the Study of Old Georgian Palimpsests'; see the abstract in <http://www.manuscript.ge/uploads/sympoziumi/tezisebi.pdf>, p. 182). The conference volume has not yet appeared in print. – See Gippert 2009 for a similar account of the bifoliate page consisting of fols. 3r and 6v (instead of 3ra–6va read 3rb–6vb on p. 182). See Gippert (forthc.), 4. for a more comprehensive treatment of the four folios.

76 Apart from the remnants of the Khanmeti *mravaltavi*, S–3902 comprises fragments of another manuscript written in Asomtavruli script in its lower layer. This – hitherto unpublished – manuscript, which can hardly be dated earlier than the 10th century, represents a lectionary with lectures from New Testament books. Different from the *mravaltavi*, the lines of the original manuscript were overwritten horizontally in this case, which makes the reading more difficult here and there although the letters have been preserved more clearly throughout than those of the Khanmeti original. The edition of two of its pages (fols. 56r and 49v) was part of the paper read in Tbilisi, Oct. 21, 2009 and has been prepared for being published in the conference volume (see n. 75 above).

77 See Gippert et al. 2007.

78 See the edition, 6–1 – 6–90 (ms. no. VI).

79 Fols. 134–141, see the edition, p. 6-1. The assumption that the fragments from the Tbilisi and the Vienna palimpsests pertain to one original manuscript was first published hesitatingly by Kaǯaia 1974, 419; it has been approved beyond any doubt by the edition project.

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they are also present in the Ṭarxali codex;[80] for here, they pertain to the 'martyrological' extension, not to the *mravaltavi* proper. In a similar way, the legend of St. Christina occurs in a Sinai manuscript that may be styled 'hagiographical' as it contains mostly legends of saints (Sin. georg. 6); as a matter of fact, none of the texts it comprises is met with in any one of the 'classical' *mravaltavi*s.[81] It seems therefore preferable to regard the Khanmeti original of the Vienna codex as a prototype of a martyrology.[82]

5 Conclusions

To sum up, it seems well founded to assume that manuscripts of the *mravaltavi* type existed in Old Georgian from Khanmeti times on, as collective volumes comprising homilies, sermons, and a few 'basic' hagiographical texts used as lections in the liturgy of certain feast days, thus constituting a special genre of MTM of unarbitrary content. It is especially those *mravaltavi*s whose remnants have been preserved in palimpsest form that deserve to be studied more intensively. Not only in the Khanmeti palimpsests but in general, the Georgian *mravaltavi*s contain texts or text versions that are either unique or archaic in comparison with other versions, which renders them important for textological studies far beyond Georgia.

80 Texts no. 110 (part III of the legend of Ss. Cyprianus and Justina; fols. 380v–385v) and 106 (legend of St. Christina; fols. 343v–353r); see Bregaʒe et al. 1973, 382–3.

81 Apart from the vitae of St. Symeon the Stylite, Julian-Saba the Syrian, Epiphanius, and Zosime, and the legends of St. Febronia, Christina, and Catherina, it contains the Protevangelium Jacobi, the Teachings of St. Stephen the Sabaite, and, by the hand of Ioane Zosime again, the 'Praise of the Georgian Language'; see Garitte 1956, 15–26.

82 It may be important in this context to note that both the Vienna palimpsest and the ms. Sin.georg. 6 contain the Protevangelium Jacobi alongside the legend of St. Christina; it is not likely, however, that the former text was written by the same hand in the palimpsest (see the edition, p. xxvi) and it was therefore treated as representing another original manuscript (no. V; 5–1 – 5–26).

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Fig. 2: Sin. georg. 32–57–33, outer appearance.

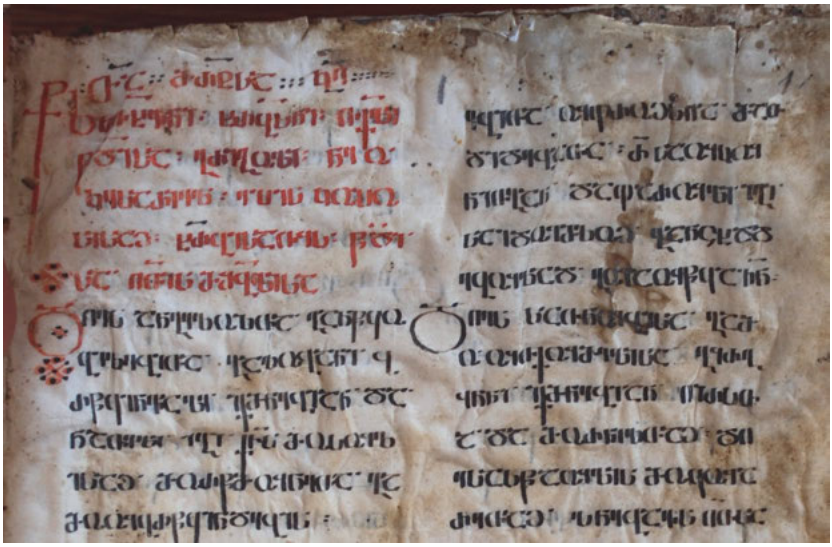

Fig. 3: id., fol. 1r (upper half).

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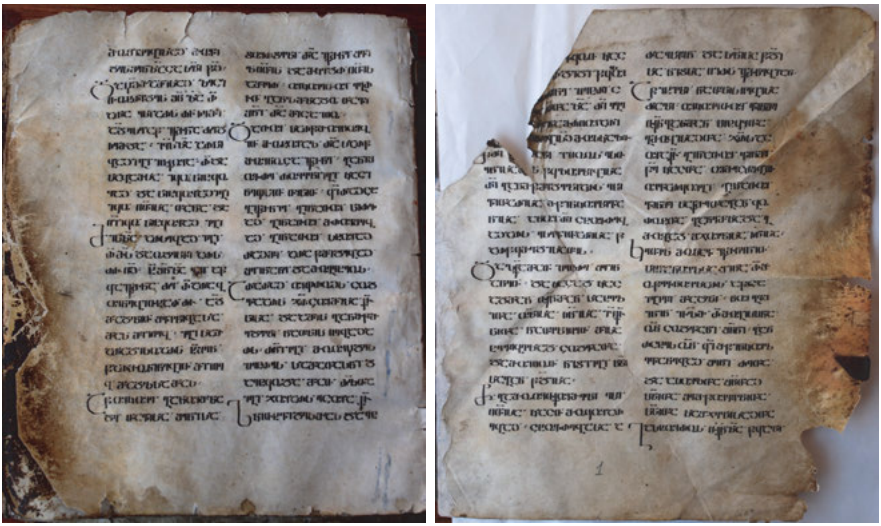

Fig. 4: Transition from Sin.georg. 32(–57–33), fol. 84v to Sin.georg. N 89, fol. 1r (within Cyril of Jerusalem).

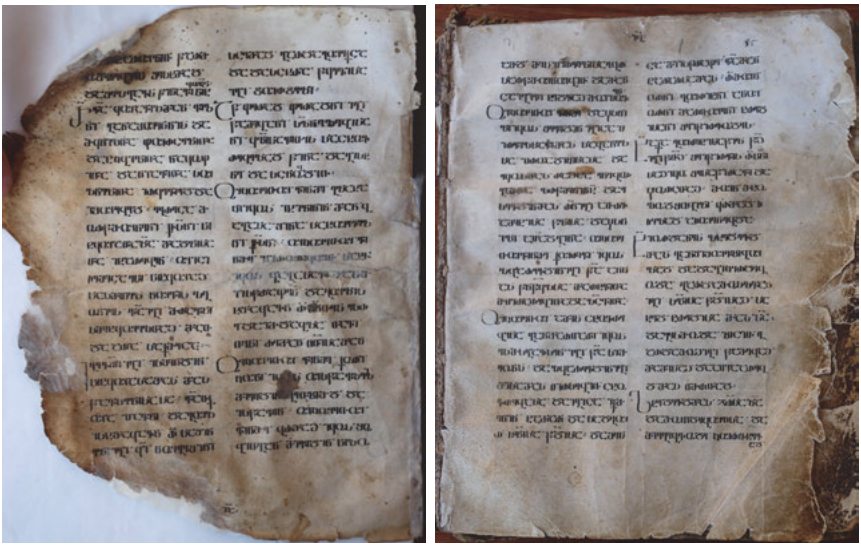

Fig. 5: Transition from Sin.georg. N 89, fol. 2v to Sin.georg. (32–)57(–33), fol. 85r (within Hesychius of Jerusalem).

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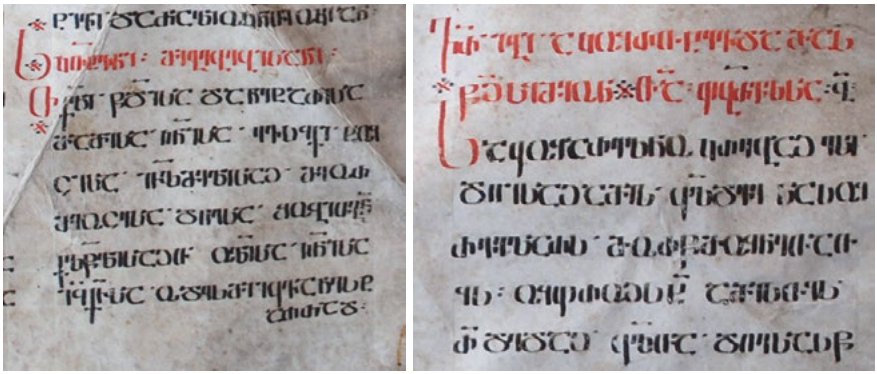

Fig. 6: Title of Hesychius' Sermon (Sin.georg. N 89, 1vb-2ra).

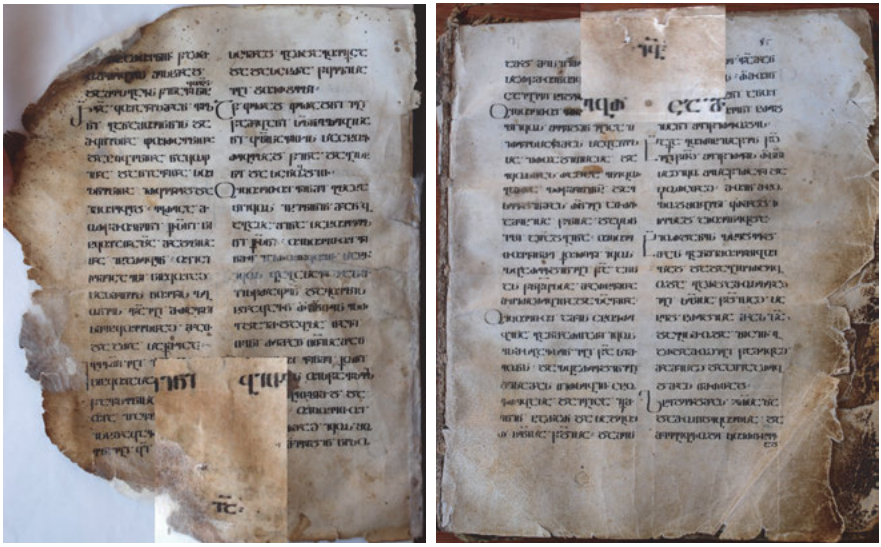

Fig. 7: Transition from Sin.georg. N 89, fol. 2v to Sin.georg. (32–)57(–33), fol. 85r (with quire numbers highlighted).

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Fig. 8: The scribe's colophons of Sin.georg. 32–57–33 (fols. 273v–274r).

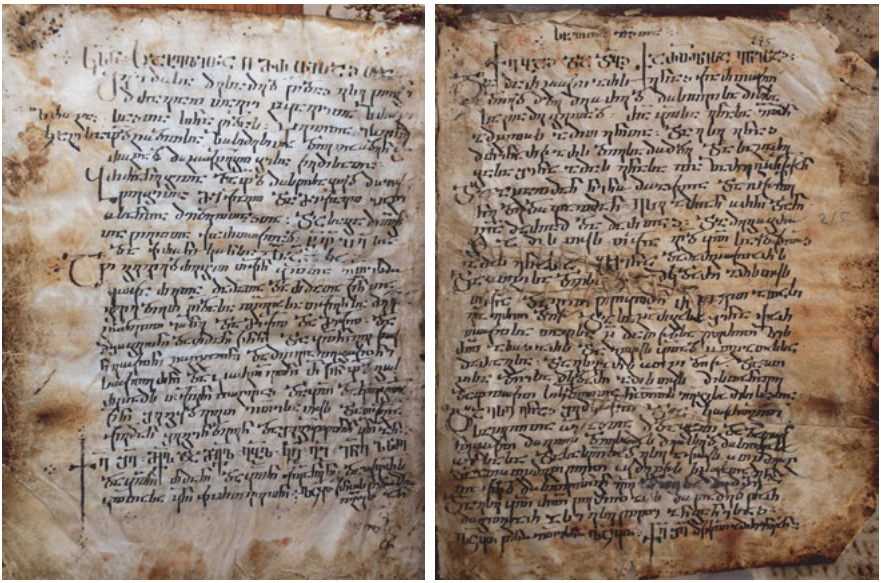

Fig. 9: The binder's colophon and the 'Praise of the Georgian Language' (Sin.georg. 32–57–33, fols. 274v-275r).

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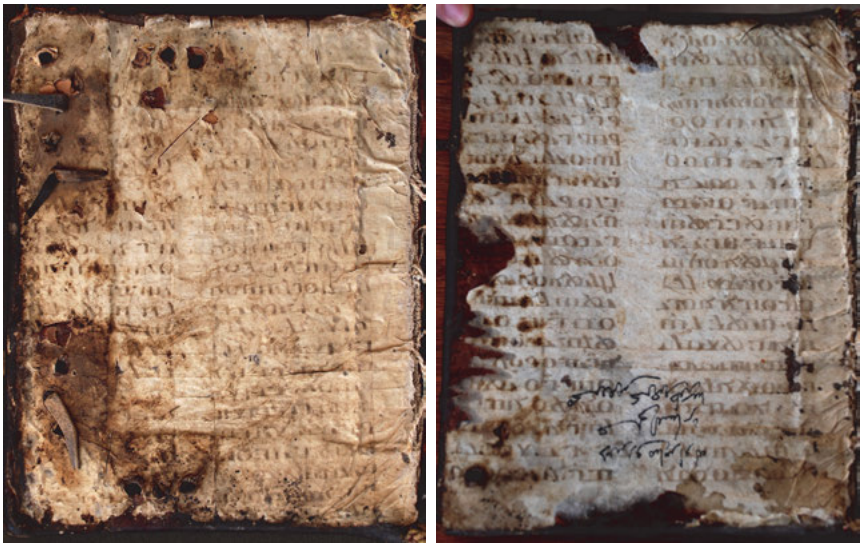

Fig. 10: Front and back fly-leaves of Sin. 32–57–33.

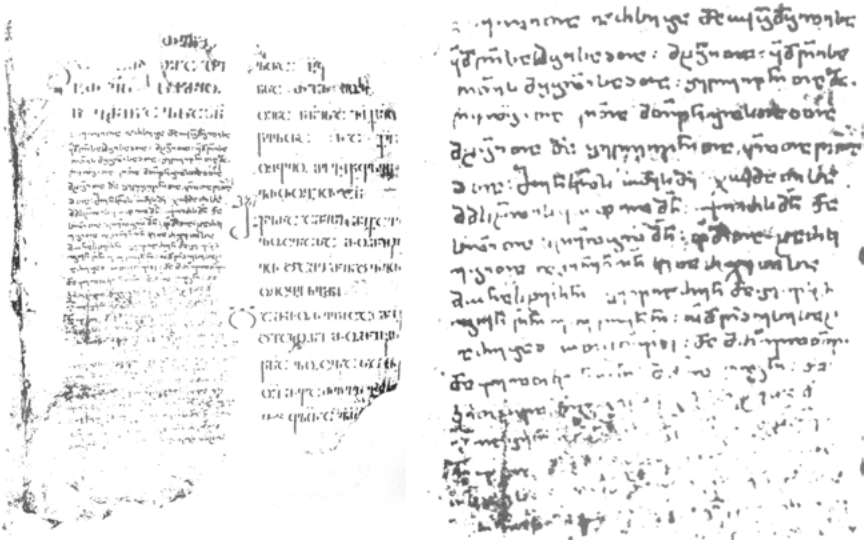

Fig. 11: Scribe's colophon and additional note of the Adishi Gospels (fol. 387).[83]

83 Reproduction from the facsimile edition by Taqaišvili 1916.

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App. 1: The 'Praise and Exaltation of the Georgian Language' (Sin. 32–57–33, fol. 275r)[84]

Kebay da d(i̇de)b(a)y kart(u)lisa enisay:	Praise and Exaltation of the Georgian Language
Damarxul ars enay kartuli *dġedmde meored moslvisa misisa saçamebelad:*	The Georgian tongue is buried until the day of his second coming, to witness,
r(ayt)a q̇(ove)lsa enasa ġ(mer)tm(a)n amxilos amit enita:	so that God may convict every tongue through this tongue.[85]
da ese enay mʒinare ars dġesamomde *da saxarebasa šina amas enasa lazare hrkwan.*	And this tongue is sleeping until today, and in the Gospels this tongue is called Lazarus.[86]
Da axalman nino moakcia da hēlene dedopalman:[87] *ese arian orni dani, v(itarc)a mariam da martay:*	And it was converted by the new Nino and by Queen Helena, these are two sisters, like Mary and Martha.[88]
da megobrobay amistws tk(u)a v(i̇tarme)d *q̇(ove)li saidumloy amas enasa šina damarxul ars*	And 'friendship' he said[86] because every mystery is preserved in this language,

84 For the text version of Sin.georg. 6 (fol. 223v) see Garitte 1956, 21; for that of Sin.georg. 38 (fol. 144r), Cagareli 1888, 203 (no. 12). The version in Sin.georg. 6 is the only one in Asomtavruli script. The text of Sin. 32–57–33 was first published by Marr 1940, 26.

85 See Jo. 16.8: *da igi movides da amxilos sopelsa codvatatws da simartlisatws da sasželisatws* 'and he will come and will convict the world because of sins and justice and judgment'.

86 See Jo. 11.11: *lazare, megobarman čuenman, daiʒina, aramed me mivide da ganvaġwʒo igi* 'Lazarus, our friend, is sleeping, but I will go and wake him up'.

87 For Sin.georg. 38, Cagareli notes *elinni dedupalman elene*, obviously by interference of *elin-i* 'Hellene, Greek person'; however, the manuscript has plain *helene dedopalman*.

88 See Jo. 11.1–3: *da iq̇o vinme sneul lazare betaniayt, dabit mariamisit da martaysit, disa misisa. … miavlines misa data mista da hrkues…* 'And there was one sick (person named) Lazarus, from Bethania, from the village of Mariam and Martha, her sister. … His sisters sent (a message) to him and said …'. – St. Nino, according to the legend coeval with St. Helena, the mother of King Constantine I, is regarded as the converter of Georgia.

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Da otxisa dġisa mḳ(u)dari amistws tk(u)a *davit ç(ina)ç(armeṭ)ġ(ue)lm(a)n, r(ametu)* *çeli atasi v(îtarc)a erti dġē.*	and 'dead for four days' (he) said[89] (because) David the Prophet (said) that '1000 years (is) like one day'.[90]
da saxar(e)basa šina kartulsa tavsa x(olo) *matēssa* *çili*[91] *zis, r(ome)l asoy ars* *da iṭġws ġ(ov)lad otxatassa maragsa:*	And in the Georgian Gospels, only in the Gospel (lit. chapter) of Matthew, sits a *çili*, which is the letter (Ҷ = *ç*),[92] and it means all in all the number 4000.[93]
da ese ars otxi dġē: da otxisa dġisa mḳ(u)dari	And this is the four days and he who is dead for four days,
amistws mis tanave dapluli siḳ(u)dilita natlis-ġebisa misisayta:	therefore it is buried with him through the death of his baptism.[94]
Da ese enay, šemḳuli da ḳurtx(eu)li saxelita *o(wpl)isayta* *mdabali da daçunebuli* *moelis dġesa mas meored moslvasa* *o(wpl)isasa*	And this tongue, adorned and blessed by the name of the Lord, (yet) humiliated and reviled, is waiting for the day of the second coming of the Lord.
da sasç(au)lad ese akus *otxmeoc da atotxmeṭi çeli umeṭēs sxuata enata* *k(risṭ)ēs moslvitg(a)n v(idr)e dġesamomde*	And this it has as a miracle: 94 years more than the other tongues since the coming of Christ up to the present day.
Da ese ġ(ove)li r(ome)li[95] *çeril ars* *moçamed çarmogitxar* *asoy ese çili*[96] *anbanisay.*	And all this, which is written, I have told you as a witness, I, the letter *çili* of the alphabet.

89 See Jo. 11.17: *movida iesu da ṗova otxdġisay samaresa šina* 'and Jesus came and found (him having been) in the grave for four days.'

90 See Ps. 89 [90].4: *rametu atasi çeli tualta çinaše uplisata vitarca gušindeli dġe, romel çarqda da vitarca saqumilavi erti ġamisay* 'for 1000 year(s) before the eyes of the Lord (are) like yesterday's day that has passed, and like one night watch.

91 All three manuscripts have *çerili* 'writing, script' instead of *çili* 'part; (name of the) letter *ç*'.

92 In Georgian, the Gospel of Matthew begins with the word *çigni* 'book' ~ Greek Βίβλος 'id.'.

93 The letter *ç* = *çili* has the numerical value of 4000 in the Georgian alphabet.

94 See Rom. 6,4: *da tana-daveplenit mas natlis-ġebita mit siḳudilsa missa* 'and we were buried together with him in his death by being baptised'.

95 According to Cagareli's transcript (1888), Sin.georg. 38 omits *romeli* 'which'; this information is wrong, however.

96 The Sinai Mravaltavi and Sin.georg. 38 have *asi ese çeli*, which would mean something like 'these 100 years' instead; Sin.georg. 6 has *moçamed çamogitxras ese çili anbanisay*, which means something like 'it will tell you as a witness, this (letter) *çili* (or part) of the alphabet'. Together with the restitution of *asoy* 'letter' for *asi* 'hundred', this yields the most coherent text version.

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App. 2: The ‘mravaltavi’ palimpsest S-3902

Ms. S–3902, fol. 7r–2v[97]

7ra

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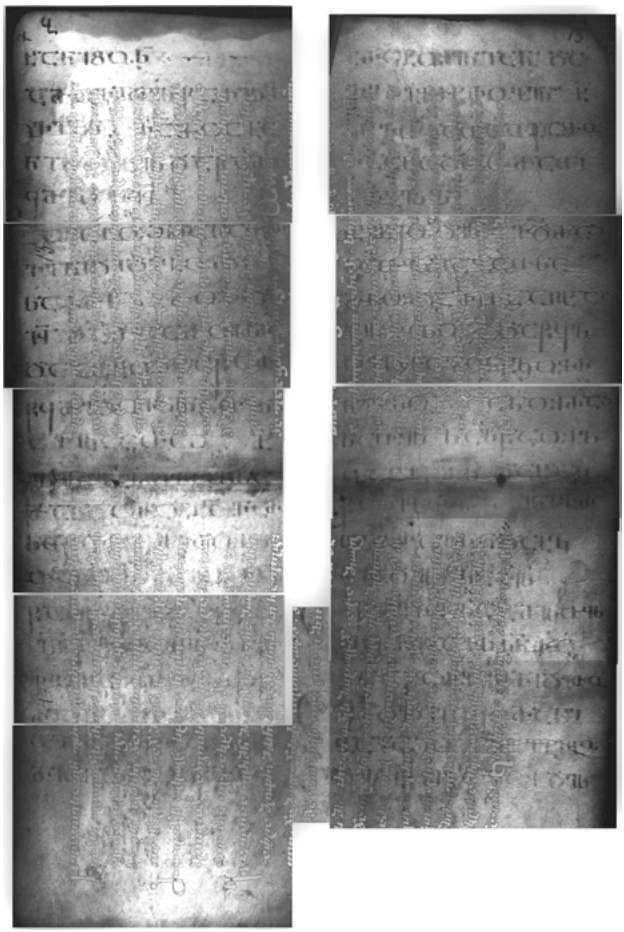

7rb

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2va

2vb

97 The marking system used here is that developed for the edition of the Vienna palimpsest (see Gippert et al. 2007, p. xxxv), except for curly braces denoting reconstructed text passages, and angle brackets, restored abbreviations here.

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(John Chrysostom, On the Envy of the Pharisees)

7ra

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Ղ ᲨᲐᲣᲮᲗᲜᲪᲗᲐᲜᲜᲗ
ᲮᲗᲜᲩᲗ᲼ᲐᲨᲪᲔᲢᲨ
ᲩᲗᲔᲐᲨᲔᲜᲨᲪᲔᲩᲐᲩ
ᲪᲐᲨᲗᲜᲜᲨᲗ։

Ք ᲣᲪᲔᲣᲪᲨᲨᲔᲩᲪ[ᲣᲪ]
ᲮᲗᲜᲗᲨᲗᲨᲪᲣᲪᲜᲗ
ᲜᲨᲯᲨᲗ։ᲨᲣᲮᲗᲨᲨ
ᲨᲪ᲼ᲐᲨᲪᲔᲨᲣᲯᲨᲗᲨ
ᲨᲨᲨᲔᲣᲮᲩᲨᲨᲩᲐ
ᲩᲪᲗᲪᲔᲣᲮᲨᲨᲩᲐᲩᲜ[Შ]
ᲜᲨᲩᲨᲨᲨᲔᲩᲔᲣᲮᲨᲐ
ᲜᲨᲩᲨᲪᲔᲨᲣᲮᲨᲪ
ᲣᲪᲜᲨᲔᲗᲨᲨᲣᲪᲗᲜ
ᲩᲪᲜᲨᲔᲪᲔᲨᲣᲮᲨᲐ

7ra	S-3902	Šanizе BUT 7	BAV Ottob.
1	ხანიჭოს : __ : __ : __	ხანიჭოს : __ : __	κομίζει.
2	[გ]ამოვიდეს ფარისე\ველნი (,)	გამო	Καὶ ἐξελθόντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι
3	რ<აჲთ>ამცა გა\ნიზრახეს	ვე	συμβούλιον ἔλαβον,
4	და წარ(წ)\ყმიდეს	ნი	ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσιν.
5	ი<ესო>ჳ (: __)	ყმ	{Ὦ συμβουλία κακίστη διὰ φθόνου σπειρομένη, καὶ διὰ φθόνου ἐλεγχομένη! ὦ ματαία βουλή! Ἀγνοοῦσι γὰρ, ὅτι Θεὸς οὐκ ἀπόλλυται. Τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὀστράκινον λύχνον τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ διαλύσουσι, τὴν λαμπηδόνα τῆς θεότητος σβέσαι οὐ δύνανται.}
6	[ō] ოჳცხოჲ და ზაკ[ოჳ]\ველი		
7	დიდებოჳლი	ვე	
8	საქმ(Შ) [:] მო[ვი](და)	სა	Ἦλθεν
9	ი<ესო>ჳ , რ<აჲთ>ამცა მო(ი)ძია	ი˜ჳ	ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀναζητῆσαι
10	და აცხოვ(ნ)ა წარ\წყმედოჳლი	და	καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός,
11	ნათესა\ავი {!}	წყმ	
12	კაცთაჲ [:] ხ<ოლო>	ვი კაცთაჲ	καὶ
13	(ესენ)[ი] (მეძიებე)ლსა	ენენ	οὗτοι τὸν
14	მას და მაცხოვარ\სა	მას და	
15	წარ[წყ](მე)დოჳლ\თა[სა]	სა	τῶν ἀπολωλότων εὐεργέτην
16	[ხეძიებენ]	თ	
17	წარწ(ყ)[მე](და)[დ :]	წა	ἀπολέσαι ζητοῦσι.
18	[რ]<ომ>ლის(ა) [ზრ](ალ)[ისათჳს]		Διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν,
19	[გჳთხ](ა)[რთ ჩ(ოჳე)ნ ჰოჳ]\(რ)ია(ნ)[ო]		εἴπατε ἡμῖν, ὦ Ἰουδαῖοι,
20	[რ<ომ>ლისა ზრალისა]\თ(ჳს)	რი	ἐβουλεύσασθε κατ' αὐτοῦ;
21	(Შ)[ეხიზრახენით]		
22	მი[ს ზ<ედ>]ა [: და აწ მათ]	მი	Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν

2va	S-3902	Šanizе BUT 7	BAV Ottob.

Table 1

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PG 61	Cod.Supr. (402,11)	Usp.Sb.
ἀνατεῖλαι.	даѥ҆тъ ·	даеть ·
Καὶ ἐξελθόντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι	и҆ и҆злѣзъше фарисеи҆	и излѣзъше фарисеи
συμβούλιον ἔλαβον,	сьвѣтъ вьзѧшѧ ·	съвѣтъ възѧша ·
ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσι.	да и҆ погоубѧтъ ·	да и погоубѧть ·
{Ὦ συμβουλία κακίστη διὰ φθόνου σπειρομένη, καὶ διὰ φθόνου ἐλεγχομένη! ὢ ματαία βουλή! Ἀγνοοῦσι γὰρ, ὅτι Θεὸς οὐκ ἀπόλλυται. Τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὀστράκινον λύχνον τοῦ σώματος διαλύσουσι, τὴν ἄσβεστον αὐτοῦ λαμπάδα τῆς θεότητος σβέσαι οὐ δύνανται. Ἐξελθόντες δὲ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι} συμβούλιον ἔλαβον, ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσιν.}	{ѹ҆ сьвѣте зълыи зависти҆ѭ сѣ҆емъ · и҆ зависти҆ѭ ѻ҆бличаѥ҆мъ · ѹ҆ле поустошънъıи съмъıслъ · не вѣдѧтъ бо ꙗ҆ко богъ не погъıбнетъ · готово гнильноѥ҆ свѣштило тѣлесе ѥ҆моу разорѧтъ · нъ свѣштѧ божъства ѥ҆моу оу҆гасити не могѫтъ ·}	{ѡ съвѣте зълыи завистию сѣемъ · и завистию обличаемъ · ѡле поустошьнъıи съмъıслъ · не вѣдѧтъ бо ꙗко б҃ъ не погъıбнеть · готово глиньное свѣтило тѣлесе емоу разорѧть · нъ свѣща божьства емоу оугасити не могоуть ·
Ὦ θαυμαστοῦ πράγματος,	ѹ҆ чоудьное и҆ дивьное	ѡ чюдьное и дивьное
καὶ μυστηρίου		
καινοῦ! Ἦλθεν	дѣло · приде	дѣло · приде
ὁ Ιησοῦς ἀναζητῆσαι	ї҆с възискатъ	і҆съ възискатъ
καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός,	и҆ направитъ и҆згъıбъшеѥ҆	и направитъ изгъıбъшее ·
καὶ	· а҆	а
οὗτοι τὸν	си	си
τῶν ἀπολωλότων εὑρέτην	и҆згъıбъшиимъ благодѣтелꙗ	изгъıбъшиимъ бл҃годѣтелꙗ
ἀπολέσαι ζητοῦσι.	погоубити и҆штѫтъ ·	погоубити ищють ·
Διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν,	Коеѧ дѣл҃ьма винъı	коею дѣльма винъı
εἴπατε ἡμῖν, Ἰουδαῖοι,	повѣдите ми ѹ҆ жидове	повѣдите ми ѡ жидове
κατ' αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα	сьвѣтъ	съвѣтъ
βουλεύεσθε;	сътвористе	сътвористе
Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν	на н҃его · нъ ѻ҆ни ѻ҆баче	на него · нъ они обаче

PG 61	Cod.Supr. (402,23)	Usp.Sb.

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7rb	S-3902	Šanizе BUT 7	BAV Ottob.
1	ხრცხოჯენიან , და	ხრცხუენიან და	αἰσχύνονται
2	ვერ გჯთხრობენ (:) ხ<ოლო>	გჯთხრობენ ხ˜	λέγειν·
3	(ჩ<ოჯე>ნ ვთქ)[<ოჯ>](ათ) [და] (გ)ამო\ვაცხადოთ	ამო	ἡμεῖς δὲ διὰ τὴν
4	მათი	მათი	αὐτῶν
5	(იგი) გესლი , [: —]		αἰσχύνην, τὴν αὐτῶν ἧτταν ἐκπομπεύσωμεν.
6	[რ<ამეთოჯ>] ხიტყოდეს (,) ვ<ითარმე>დ რაჲ\სათჯს	ვ˜დ რაჲ	Διὰ τί γὰρ, φησί,
7	(შ)აბათსა	ო ათსა	
8	მ(კ)ოჯდართა აღხად\გინებსო [:]	ო აღხად	νεκροὺς ἐγείρει,
9	და წყლ\ოჯლთა	ო და წყლ	καὶ ἀσθενοῦντας
10	განხკოჯრ\ნებსო [:]	ო კურ	ἰᾶται;
11	ანოჯ რაჲ\სათჯს ,	კურა __	διὰ τί καλὰ λαλεῖ, καὶ
12	სასწაოჯლ\თა	სასწაულ	θαυματοῦργει;
13	ხიქმს და ხას\წავებსო [:]	ო ა ხას	διὰ τί δὲ καὶ διδάσκει;
14	ესევ[<ითა>]რ\სა	წავებ ესევრ	Διὰ ταῦτα
15	(ბ)რალსა დახკ\რ[ებ]დ[ეს] (ზ<ედ>)ა	და ხკ	
16	(ი<ესო>ჯს : __)	(ითხა?)	
17	(ა)[წ ესევ<ითა>რი](სა ა)მისთჯს	მისთჯს	πάντα τὰ ἐγκλήματα
18	გო(ჯ)ნებავს ჩ<ოჯე>ნ რ<აჲთ>ა\[მ]ც(ა)	ჩ˜ნ რ˜ა	βουλευόμεθα αὐτὸν
19	წარ(ვ)წყმიდეთო (, :)	მიდეთ ო	ἀπολέσαι.
20	(ო)დ(ეს)[-იგი] ყრმანი	ძმანი(?)	Ὅτε νήπιοι παῖδες
21	ბაიაჲ[თა მი](ხ)ეგებო\დეს (,)	ბაიაჲ ეგებო	βαία λαμβάνοντες, καὶ διὰ τῶν βαίων τὴν νίκην προαναφωνοῦντες ...
22	(ხოჯგ)ა(ლ)ობდეს ,	ობდეს	
2vb	S-3902	Šanizе BUT 7	BAV Ottob.

Table 2

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PG 61	Cod.Supr. (402,23)	Usp.Sb.
αἰσχύνονται	срамь҆ꙗ҆ѭтъ сѧ	срамлѧють сѧ
λέγειν·	глаголати · нъ	г҃лати · нъ
ἡμεῖς τὴν	мы срамомъ	мы срамъмъ
αὐτῶν	тѣхъ самѣхъ и҆хъ	тѣхъ самѣхъ · ихъ
αἰσχύνην πανταχῆ στηλιτεύσωμεν.	прѣдолѣние ѡ҆бличим҆ ·	прѣдолѣние обличимъ ·
Διὰ τί γὰρ, φησί,	почто бо рекошѧ	по чьто бо рекоша
νεκροὺς ἐγείρει;	мрь҆твъıѧ въставь҆ꙗ҆етъ ·	мьрътвъıꙗ въставлѧеть ·
καὶ διὰ τί ἀσθενοῦντας	и҆ недѫжь҆нъıѧ	и недоужьнъıꙗ
ἰᾶται;	цѣлитъ ·	цѣлить ·
διὰ τί καλὰ λαλεῖ; διὰ τί	почто и҆ глаго҆летъ	по чьто и г҃леть
καλὰ	и҆ чоудеса	и чюдеса
πράττει; διὰ τί καλὰ διδάσκει;	творитъ · почто же и҆ оу҆читъ ·	творить · по чьто же и оучить ·
Διὰ ταῦτα	сихъ дѣл҆ьма	сихъ дѣльма
	вь҆сѣхъ винъ	вьсѣхъ винъ
πάντα τὰ ἐγκλήματα		
βουλεύονται αὐτὸν	хоштемъ	хощемъ
ἀπολέσαι.	погоубити е҆го ·	погоубити его ·
Ὅταν ἐξέρχωνται νήπιοι παῖδες	е҆гда младъı дѣти	егда младъıꙗ дѣти
βαία λαμβάνοντες, διὰ τῶν βαίων τὴν νίκην αὐτοῦ προαναφωνοῦντες, καὶ	вѣи҆е възь҆ми҆ше и҆ вѣи҆емъ е҆моу	вѣиемь емоу
ἐν τῇ εὐφημίᾳ αὐτοῦ	побѣдѫ	побѣдꙋ

PG 61	Cod.Supr. (403,1)	Usp.Sb.

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7va	S-3902	Šaniʒe BUT 7	BAV Ottob.
1	და ხიტყოდ(ეს ') ოს(ა)\ნა	და ხიტყოდეს ოსა	Ὠσαννὰ
2	რ<ომელ>ი ხარ (მა)[ღალ]\თა	ნა რ˜ი ხა(რ მ)აღალ	ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις,
3	შ[ინა კ](ოჳრთ)\ხეოჳლ	თა შინა კურთ	εὐλογημένος
4	(არს) [მომა]ვ(ა)\ლი	არს მომავა	ὁ ἐρχόμενος
5	სახ(ელ)[ითა] (ო<ჳფლისა>ჲთა)	ლი სახელითა ო˜ჲთა	ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου,
6	მეოჳფ[ჱ] (ი<სრა>)[ჱ](ლისა)[ჲ]	მეუფჱ (ი˜ჱ)ლისაჲ	βασιλέως τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.
7	[ხ<ოლო>] ი[გ]ინი მ(ათს)[ა] (მას)	ხ˜ იგინი	Ἐκεῖνοι καθάπερ ὑπὸ ζιβήνων
8	გალობ(ა)სა [ვ(ითარც)ა სა]\(მ)ჭოჳ(ლი)[თა]	გალობასა მას(?)	
9	[ხიწ](ე)[რთე]\(ბო)დ(ე)ს (')	მჭუე	κεντοῦμενοι
10	(და კ)[ბი](ლთ)ა	ბოდის	τοὺς ὀδόντας
11	[იღ](რჭენდ)[ე](ს) [[რ<ამეთოჳ>]] [გალო]\[ბან](ი)	ღრჭე	ἔβρυχον·
12	(ი)[გ](ი) ოჳშო(ჳ)[რე](ლი)\[სანი]	ბადეს(?) უშურ	οἱ γὰρ ἔπαινοι
13	[ი](სა)[რ ხიქმნე]\ბო(დ)[ეს]	ნი ასა	τῶν φθονουμένων,
14	(მოშ)ოჳრნე\თა	ბოდეს მოშურნე	βέλη
15	მ(ათ)	თა მათ	τῶν φθονούντων εἰσι.
16	და მო(ხ)[ოჳ](ჴდ)[ეს] (ი<ესოჳ>)[ს]	და მო	Καὶ προσέρχονται
17	და ხ<რ>ქ<ოჳ>ეს არა გეს\მისა	და	τῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Οὐκ ἀκούεις,
18	რ[ასა-ესე ხი](ტ)\ყჳან [:]	მისა	τί οὗτοι λέγουσι;
19	[რ<ამეთოჳ> იგი](ნ)[ი] (სიტ)\ყო(ჳ)ა(სა)	ყჳან რ˜ (ი)გინ(ი) სიტ	οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅτι
20	(წ)[ინა](წა)[რ]-	ყუასა წინაწარ	προφητικῶς
21	მე(ტყოჳ)[ელი](ს)[ა](ს)[ა]	მეტყუელისასა	ἐπληροῦτο
22	აღ[ხ]ა[სრ](ო)[ჳ]ლ(ე)[ბდ](ეს ')	აღხასრულებდეს	τὸ γεγραμμένον.
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Table 3

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PG 61	Cod.Supr. (403,1)	Usp.Sb.
λέγοντες, Ὠσαννὰ	гласѧште · ѹ҃сан҆н	гласѧште · осаньна
ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις,	въ вышьн҆и҆ихъ	въ вышьииихъ
	благословь҆енъ	бл҃гснъ
	грѧдъи҆	грѧдъıи
	въ и҆мѧ господьн҆е ·	въ имѧ г҃не
	црь и҆здраи҆л҃евъ ·	ц҃срь из҃левъ ·
ἐκεῖνοι ἀπὸ τῶν ζιβήνων	тъгда о҆ни а҆къı	тъгда ѡни акъı
σφαττόμενοι	о҆стънъı	остьнъı
ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου κεντοῦνται·	бодоми	бодоми
	зѫбъı	зоубоу
	скръжьтаахѫ хвалъı бо	скрьжьтаахоу · хвалъı бо
οἱ γὰρ ἔπαινοι	зависть и҆мѣѭштии҆мъ ·	зависть имѣющиимъ
τῶν φθονουμένων,	о҆рѫжие	ѡроужие
βέλη εἰσὶ	завидѧштии҆мъ	завидѧщиимъ
τῶν φθονούντων.	сѫтъ ·	соуть ·
Καὶ προσέρχονται	и҆ пришъдъше	и пришьдъше
τῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ·	къ ї҆соусоу глаголашѧ е҆моу · не	къ і҃соу г҃лаша емꙋ · не
Οὐκ ἀκούεις,	слъıшиши ли	слъıшиши ли
τί οὗτοι λέγουσι;	что си҆и глаго҆лѫтъ ·	чьто сии г҃лють ·
Καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκον, ὅτι	не вѣсте҃ л҃і ꙗко	не вѣсте ꙗко
προφητικῶς	пророчъско	про҃рчьскъı
ἐπληροῦτο	кон҆ьчавааше сѧ	коньчавааше сѧ
τὸ γεγραμμένον,	писани҆е ·	пи(с)ание ·

PG 61	Cod.Supr. (403,9)	Usp.Sb.

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7vb	S-3902	Šanizе BUT 7	BAV Ottob.
1	ვ<ითარმე>დ [პ](ირ)ითა ყ[რმ](ათ)[ა]	ვ˜დ პირითა ყრმათა	Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων
2	(ჩჩკლთა მწო)[ვართ](ა)[ჲ]\(თა)	ჩჩკლთა მწოვართაჲ	καὶ θηλαζόντων
3	(დახემტკიცო)[ს]	თა დახემტკიცოს	κατηρτίσω
4	[ქებაჲ]	ქებაჲ	αἶνον.
5	[ოდეს-ი](გი იეზ)[აბ](ე)[ლს]	ოდეს იგი იეზაბელს	Ὅτε Ἰεζάβελ
6	ხე[გ](ო)[კლ](ე)[ბ]ო(და დ)[ა]\(პ)ყ(რ)[ობა](დ)	ხეგულებოდა და	
7	[ვე](ნა)[ჴი]	პყრობად ვენაჴი	τὸν ἀμπελῶνα
8	[იგი ნაბოკთწსი]	იგი ნაბუთწსი	τοῦ Ναβουθὲ ἁρπᾶσαι ἐβούλετο πλαστὰ
9	[დ](ა წიგნი) [სიც](როკვისა)[ჲ]	და წ˜ი სიცრუვისაჲ	γράμματα
10	(მი)[ს](წ)[ერა :] ვ<ითა>რ (ე)[რ](თ)\[გ]ოკლ(ო)ბი(თ)	მიგიწერა ვ˜რ ერთ	γράμματα, ἡδέως
11	შე[ხი](წყნ)[ა]\რე(თ :)	გულობით შეხიწყნა	ἀνείχεσθε·
12	ხ<ოლო> (ო)[დეს პი]\[ლატე]	რეთ ხ˜ ოდეს პი	ὅτε καὶ Πιλᾶτος
13	[ჯოკარსა მას]	ლატე ჯუარსა მას	ἐπὶ τοῦ τίτλου
14	[ზ<ედ>ა] დასწერს [ჭ]ე(შ)[მა]\(რიტ)[ს](ა)	ზ˜ა დასწერს ჭეშმა	τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔδειξε,
15	(ფი)[ც](ა)[რსა მას]	რიტსა ფიცარსა მას	
16	(მა)შინ (გო)[კლ]ი [გი](წ)ყრ[ე]\(ბ)ის	მაშინ გული გიწყრე	ἀγανακτεῖτε,
17	და [ხაყე](ნ)[ე](ბთ)	ბის და ხაყენებთ	καὶ κωλύετε γράφειν.
18	და [ხე](ტ)ყკ[თ]	და (ხეტყკთ)	Τί γὰρ ἔλεγον;
19	ნოკ დასწ(ე)რ მ(ე)ოკფე[დ]	ნუ დახწერ მეუფედ	Μὴ γράφε, ὁ βασιλεὺς
20	ჰო(კრ)იათად (:) და	ჰურიათად და	τῶν Ἰουδαίων,
21	ნ(ო)კ [გა]მ[ო]ხაჩინე(ბ)	ნუ გ(ამ)ოხაჩინებ	ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ δείξῃς
22	ჭეშ(მარი)ტ(სა :) ნოკ	ჭ(ე)შ(მ)ა(რიტ)სა ნუ	τὴν ἀλήθειαν μηδὲ

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Table 4

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PG 61	Cod.Supr. (403,9)	Usp.Sb.
τὸ, Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων	ꙗ҆з оустъ младенъ҆цъ	из оустъ младеньць
καὶ θηλαζόντων	ꙗ҆ съсѫштиꙗ҆хъ	и съсоущиихъ
κατηρτίσω	съвръ҆шилъ еси	съвьрьшилъ еси
αἶνον.	хвалѫ ·	хвалоу ·
Ὅτε Ἰεζάβελ	ꙗ҆гда ꙗ҆е҆завелъ҆	егда ꙗ҆е҆завель
	виноградъ наѵ҆ѳеѵ҆в҆	виноград(а) навоуѳеовъ
	ꙗ҆отѧти хотѣ ·	отѧти хотѣ ·
κατὰ τοῦ Ναβουθὲ τὰ πλαστὰ		
ἐποίει γράμματα,	многы кн҃игы	многы книгы
γράφει καὶ ἡδέως	писа ꙗ҆ сладъко	писа и сладъко
ἀνέχεσθε·	послоушаасте ·	послоушаасте ·
ὅτε Πιλᾶτος γράφει	ꙗ҆ ꙗ҆гда пилатъ	а егда пилатъ
ἐπὶ τοῦ τίτλου	на дъ҆стѣ	на дъскѣ
τὰ χρηστὰ	ꙗ҆стинѫ показа ·	истиноу показа ·
γράμματα,		
ἀγανακτεῖτε,	гнѣвасте сѧ	гнѣваасте сѧ ·
καὶ κωλύετε γράφεσθαι.	ꙗ҆ ставъ҆ꙗ҆ꙗ҆ете писати ·	и ставлѧасте писати ·
Τί γὰρ λέγουσι;	ч҆то глаголаахѫ	чьто г҃лааху
Μὴ γράφε, ὅτι Ὁ βασιλεὺς	не пиши ц҃ръ	не пиши ц҃срь
τῶν Ἰουδαίων.	жидовъскъ · си рѣчъ	жидовьскъ · сирѣчъ
Μὴ γράφε, ἀντὶ τοῦ,	не кажи	не кажи
Τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τοῦ Μηδεὶς	ꙗ҆стины · ни	ꙗ҆стины · ни

PG 61	Cod.Supr. (403,16)	Usp.Sb.

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Paola Buzi

From Single-Text to Multiple-Text Manuscripts: Transmission Changes in the Coptic Literary Tradition. Some Case-Studies from the White Monastery Library

1 Introduction

Before analysing the Christian Egyptian literary tradition, its phenomena and its codicological products, it is necessary to make some preliminary remarks.

Firstly, although this article will deal with Coptic manuscripts, it should not be forgotten that from the 4th to the 10th century, which is the period considered in this article, the Greek language was never completely replaced by Coptic. Rather, both languages coexisted, producing a strong and widespread bilingualism. In contrast, Latin remained confined to a very specific *milieu*: i.e. the Roman army, administration and jurisprudence.[1]

Secondly, the climatic conditions of the Nile Valley enabled Egypt to retain an impressive amount of manuscript material, much of which dates back to the very early stages of the spread of Christianity into Egypt. This exceptional situation attracted many systematic excavations. In particular, these took place in the late 18th century and specifically pursued the aim of finding manuscripts. The fact that no attention was paid to the archaeological context gave rise to predictable circumstances. Most of the texts have completely lost their link with the original historical background. Moreover, when local people realized the keen interest of Europeans in the early documents pertaining to Christianity, they did not hesitate to dismember Coptic codices in order to sell single leaves of them to the highest bidder. This particular aspect remains to exert a strong influence on the study of Coptic manuscript material because leaves which originally belonged to the same

Parts of the content of this article have already been published – although in a different form – in Buzi 2011, 177–203.

1 Buzi 2005a.

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codex are often preserved in several separate European and non-European collections.

Lastly, notwithstanding increased attention to codicological aspects of the Coptic manuscript culture over the last two decades, it is clear that much remains to be done; in particular, if we regard the remarkable progress made in the analogous studies of Greek and Latin manuscripts.[2] In brief, a 'Coptic codicology' has still to be established, and Coptic studies so far continue to depend basically on the codicological terminology used in Greek manuscript studies, despite the fact Coptic manuscript tradition presents very specific phenomena. This situation needs to be remedied as soon as possible because, as Stephen Emmel put it in 1993, 'the development and proper application of codicology as a science also depends on the reconstruction of Coptic literature'.[3]

2 Coptic multiple-text manuscripts

This article will specifically deal with the category of Coptic 'multiple-text manuscripts' (MTMs). It omits 'composite manuscripts'– i.e. volumes created by combining independent codicological units, sometimes of different origin and period – both because specific studies about this second category are still completely lacking, and because the above-mentioned dispersion of the leaves of Coptic manuscripts and their fragmentary status do not facilitate such a research, at least if we remain in the field of literary manuscripts. In fact, not much has been written about MTMs either. The manner in which they represent a characteristic of Christian Egypt, albeit not an exclusive one, and how the quantity of their use became substantial from a certain period onward, are aspects which have not yet elicited the appropriate attention.[4]

2 For a bibliography of Greek and Latin codicological studies see Maniaci 2002, 186–189, 191–193, 195, 201–206, 221–233. See also Géhin 2005 and Klingshirn / Safran 2007. For Egypt in particular, see Bagnall 2009. For the recent studies concerning MTMs see Ronconi 2007. As for the problems related to the cataloguing of MTMs see above all Andrist 2006, 299–356 and Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013. See also Shailor 1996, 153–167 and Gumbert 2004, 17–42.

3 Emmel 1993, 40. See now Buzi / Emmel 2015, 137–153.

4 For a quantitative analysis of MTMs in Greek and Latin late-antique and early mediaeval period see Maniaci 2004, 95–105 and Muzerelle / Ornato 2004, 43–74, respectively. Concerning the structural aspects of the Greek MTM see also Gumbert 2004, 17–42; Crisci 2004, 109–144 and Ronconi 2004, 145–182.

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Armando Petrucci, listing the first MTMs of Oriental Christianity, suggests that it is very likely that the miscellaneous codex is an Egyptian creation,[5] possibly originating from schools.[6] In this respect, it is undeniable that Christian Egypt has provided several examples of MTMs since the birth of the codex.

Most of these first examples, however, are to be attributed to a context of cultural contiguity between Greek and Coptic *milieux*, as seems to be confirmed by the codicological characteristics and the continuous exchanges between the two languages.[7]

This is the case for P. Hamb.bil. 1,[8] a bilingual papyrus codex composed of four irregular quires, which contains: the *Acta Pauli* (in Greek), the *Canticum Canticorum* (in Coptic), the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* (in Coptic), and the *Ecclesiastes* (in Greek and Coptic).[9] The leaves measure 260 × 200 mm, the writing is arranged in a single column, the margins are narrow and the number of lines changes from page to page. The codex is decorated with very rough ornamental elements and has been written in at least two different hands, which command both Greek and Coptic but are more proficient in the first language. The manuscript is datable to the end of the 3rd or to the beginning of the 4th century at the latest.

The same graphic and codicological coarseness is shared by another early MTM, datable to the end of the 3rd century: P. Crosby-Schøyen MS 193, which is a one-quire codex, originally composed of 35 double leaves and characterized by unusual dimensions (147 mm × 159 mm so that the width of the volume exceeds the height). The pagination has at least two repeated beginnings, the number of lines changing from a minimum of 11 to a maximum of 18, even on the same page.

It contains five Sahidic Coptic[10] texts: the *De Pascha* of Melito of Sardis, a passage of *Maccabees* (II, 5, 27–7, 41), the *Epistula Petri*, the *Book of Jonas* and a homiletic text probably concerning Easter morning.

Also 12 of the 13 renowned Nag Hammadi codices are one-quire volumes, but to describe these in detail here would exceed the scope of this article. We will

5 Petrucci 2005, 5–25; see also Crisci 2004, 145–182.

6 Petrucci 1986, 180 and Del Corso / Pecere 2009.

7 Crisci 2004, 111.

8 Diebner / Kasser 1989; Störk 2002, 101–104.

9 For an analysis of the Coptic dialect varieties used in the codex see Diebner / Kasser 1989, 50–140.

10 Sahidic was originally the dialect spoken in the Theban region; after the 5th century, however, it became the standard Coptic of all of Upper Egypt. From the 11th century, this role was taken by Bohairic, a dialect originally spoken in the western part of Lower Egypt, but also in the cities of Alexandria and Memphis.

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therefore just mention them briefly, specifying that they share with P. Hamb.bil. 1 and with P. Crosby-Schøyen the in parts rough handwriting, the unruly *mise en page*, the frequent changing of scribes, and many other peculiarities of this early stage of the Coptic MTMs.

Of course, these are merely some examples, but it is important to stress that almost all of the first-phase MTMs are of a biblical or apocryphal subject.

If at the beginning of the Coptic tradition the MTM appears to be a codicological article of inferior quality, things change very quickly in Egypt to the point that the MTMs soon attain the same graphical and material standard as the single-text codices and also become numerically substantial.

To give a precise idea of this phenomenon, a quantitative exploration of two important discoveries of Coptic manuscripts is presented here: the findings of the so-called Hamuli manuscripts, found in the Fayyum region,[11] and those of the White Monastery, in Upper Egypt. Both groups of manuscripts generally date from the 8th/9th–10th/11th centuries.

Hamuli is the modern name of the village which stands on the site of the ancient Monastery of the Archangel Michael, located in the south-western area of the fertile region of the Fayyum, about 100 km south-west of Cairo. In 1911 several well-preserved codices were found there and are now preserved for the most part in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.

At the time of their discovery, several of them still had their original bindings, which is rather uncommon for Coptic Studies. They are all to be considered high-quality codicological products, at least by Coptic standards which are, in general, not very high compared to other Oriental manuscript cultures. They have clear and usually well worked parchment, accurate *mise en page*, two-column layout, large margins, regular handwriting and pagination.

It is interesting to learn that, if we exclude the biblical texts, the antiphonaries, the lectionaries, the magic spells and the documentary texts, 26 items out of the remaining 113 are MTMs, containing from 2 to 10 works attributed to different authors, the choice behind the combination of which is not always clear. I would like to point out that in this article I only consider books as MTMs if they contain at least two works by different authors and these are devoted to different and apparently unrelated subjects. If this was not the case, their number would be even larger.

The situation of the Hamuli MTMs can be summarized as follows:

11 See, particularly, Depuydt 1993, I, xlv–liii. See also Emmel 2005, 63–70 and Nakano 2006, 147–159.

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9 codices contain 2 works
8 codices contain 3 works
2 codices contain 4 works
2 codices contain 7 works
2 codices contain 8 works
1 codex contains 9 works
1 codex contains 10 works

The miscellaneous codices (MTMs) which contain the largest number of works are those devoted to Eastertide, to the Virgin Mary and, not surprisingly, to the Archangel Michael, patron of the monastery.

If we also include the biblical and apocryphal codices in our calculation, we discover that these are an insignificant minority in Hamuli, while, as we have seen, in the 4th century they represented almost the entire findings.

These data are comparable with those of the manuscripts found at the White Monastery, which are numerically even more significant.

It is a well known fact that under the active and strenuous leadership of Shenoute (approximately 350 – 465/66)[12] the confederation of monasteries coordinated by the White Monastery became one of the most important centres of Coptic literary production. This included extensive efforts invested in the translation of Greek patristic texts. Shenoute himself was probably the greatest Coptic writer ever.

However, as already mentioned, the surviving fragmentary manuscripts of the White Monastery, which are now preserved in several collections all over the world, date back to a much later period (9th–11th century,). Thus, they represent the latest stage of the history of the White Monastery library.

The White Monastery manuscripts considered here are not complete or semi-complete codices, such as those of Hamuli. In this case – but many other manuscript finds have met the same end – it is only possible to analyse a virtual reconstruction of their original codicological unity.

This reconstruction is far from complete and must therefore be considered a work in progress. It is the result of the research performed by many scholars, starting with Walter Ewing Crum who tried to identify the related fragments, while cataloguing the fragments belonging to the British Library collection. Now, it is the main task of the *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari*. The project, which was initially founded by Tito Orlandi in 1970 in Milan and later transferred to Rome, is one of the projects hosted in the Hiob Ludolf Zentrum of Hamburg University.

12 Coptic sources attribute to this famous abbot a lifetime of more than a hundred years.

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Again, if we exclude the biblical and the apocryphal texts and the manuscripts only containing works of Shenoute, 47 out of the 171 reconstructed codices are MTMs, which contain 2 to 17 works from different authors.

Once more, in this research in order to be considered miscellanies books must contain at least two works of different authors which are dedicated to different and apparently unrelated subjects. Otherwise, as in the case of Hamuli manuscripts, the amount of the MTMs would be even more numerous.

Moreover, it must be taken into consideration that the reconstruction of the White Monastery manuscripts is still *in fieri*, and the number of MTMs is probably destined to increase.

Currently, the situation of the White Monastery MTMs can be summarized as follows:

20 codices contain 2 works
8 codices contain 4 works
6 codices contain 3 works
3 codices contain 5 works
3 codices contain 3 works
2 codices contain 7 works
1 codex contains 8 works
1 codex contains 9 works
1 codex contains 10 works
1 codex contains 15 works
1 codex contains 17 works

Since the libraries of Hamuli and of the White Monastery were probably among the best supplied in Egypt, at least during the period in question, they represent to the best advantage the trends and the cultural choices of early medieval Egypt, trends that are also confirmed by more sporadic groups of manuscripts, dating back to the 6th–8th centuries.

The fact that the MTMs make up about one fourth of the total – even more in the case of the White Monastery – is probably not entirely coincidental.

But the Hamuli MTMs and those of the White Monastery have something else in common: their works are frequently introduced by long – if not extremely long – titles.

Coptic titles have developed several peculiarities during the textual transmission and have undergone profound changes over the ages. For example, they take up different positions in the manuscript (either at the beginning or at the end). Additionally, they vary in length and extension, as well as in the degree that the contents are detailed. Furthermore, they have grown in complexity, variety and heterogeneousness.

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From the 8th to the end of the 10th century, titles have become progressively longer and they often do not fully correspond to the contents of the works they are attributed to or reveal a deep textual rearrangement of them (i.e. of the works).[13]

A meaningful example is represented by the title of the *Passione et Resurrectione* by Evodius of Rome, a fictitious author probably created in the 9th century:

> A homily by the holy father Evodius patriarch and archbishop of the great city of Rome, the second after the apostle Peter. He delivered it on the feast of Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ. He delivered it on the day on which he baptized Didymus the Jew, the leader of a synagogue, after he had instructed him from the holy scriptures. He delivered many testimonies through the holy gospels under the consulate of Claudius the emperor. He ordered all the Jews to leave Rome. As for Didymus, since he had many possessions and because of his riches, he was spared. They did not throw him out with the Jews, because he was a teacher of the law, who had studied the holy scriptures and knew their power a little. He went to the church especially so that it might become his guardian. In God's peace, amen.[14]

The comparison between the content of the title and the content of the homily is very revealing. The title extensively deals with Didymus and the expulsion of the Jews from Rome whereas in the text this aspect only appears as a minor story with occasional mention in the homily, which is otherwise exclusively dedicated to the story of the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ and to the credibility of Evodius's narration.

The title was added to the work at a later date. It was created with the specific purpose of stressing the religious identity of the Copts and criticising any resistance against orthodoxy and using the Jewish community – at that time numerically irrelevant – as a the model of heterodoxy *par excellence*[15] .

A different phenomenon, but no less interesting, is the *In Demetrium et Petrum episcopos* attributed to Flavianus of Ephesus.[16] The homily is in fact the result of a collage of two different works: the first part is an encomium dedicated to the theme of the possibility for a bishop to get married, as Peter did. The second part, in contrast, is a sort of romance about a woman from Antioch, named Martyria. She wanted to reach Alexandria so patriarch Peter could baptize her sons. It is difficult to comprehend why such different works should have been bound

13 Buzi 2005b.
14 Depuydt 1993, 346.
15 On this matter see Buzi 2014, 31–45.
16 Budge 1914, 137.

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together, but the title is certainly a perfect reflection of this evolution of the destiny of the two works:

> An encomium which our saint father Flavianus, bishop of Ephesus, delivered on saint Demetrius, archbishop of Rakote, on the day of his holy commemoration on the 20th of the month of Thot. In this encomium he also spoke about the miracles which God by his hand wrought and about the saint and martyr and virgin Apa Peter, the archbishop of Rakote. Furthermore, he spoke also of the holy woman, who was a native of the city of Antioch and a martyr, and her two sons Philopator and Eutropius. He also spoke of the passage from the book of Jeremiah which says: In that day I will establish sunrise in the house of David. In God's peace, amen.[17]

It would be no surprise if the authors of the title and of the combination of the two original works were the same person. These titles clearly illustrate the different function and purpose from earlier or shorter ones. They go far beyond being a simple indication of the work's contents and guide the reader's (or the listener's) attention towards a new interpretation of old texts.

There are indications that the authors responsible for the creation of this very specific and targeted type of title were also those who rearranged older works in new combinations, which then comprised MTMs and may be considered a school in their own right.

This phase constitutes the last original, creative and constructive activity of the Coptic literary production.

3 A special case: the MTMs containing *excerpta*

After this general overview of the Coptic MTMs, I would like to focus on a very specific typology: codices containing *excerpta*, *i.e.* abstracts or summaries of different works and different authors. The reasons for their selection and combination are not always immediately clear.

These codices represent a minority in the 'family' of Coptic MTMs. Personally I know of only a few cases, all of which come from the White Monastery Library. Three of them will be analysed shortly.

Although the codices in question cannot be defined as luxury items, neither are they characterized by the typical peculiarities of a Coptic private book, that is a one-quire volume, of small to medium size, with informal handwriting, one-

17 Budge 1914, 137, 390.

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column layout with irregular and narrow margins. The layout, in particular, is painstaking, and the script is homogeneous and well designed.

These collections of excerpts are the product of the well-established aesthetical and graphical style of the White Monastery, which stems from a long, traditional and consolidated writing *praxis*, displaying only few uncertainties and irregularities.

Each one is written by a single hand and can thus, according to the classification of Marilena Maniaci, be defined as 'unitari monoblocco pluritestuali',[18] that is, to quote Peter Gumbert, 'single-block uniform monomerous multiple-text' codex.[19]

The first of these codices is denominated MONB.DV. (The abbreviation 'MONB' stands for 'Monastero Bianco' (White Monastery), and the other two letters identify the reconstructed codicological units realized within the afore-mentioned *Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari* project.

The codex contains *excerpta* of several works – indentified or not – attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, Helias of Psoi, Theodoros the Pachomian, Isaiah of Sceti, Athanasius of Alexandria, Basilius of Cesarea and others.

To better understand the purpose of such a codex, it is of primary importance to analyse its *inscriptiones* and *subscriptiones*, i.e. the titles which introduce and close each abstract.[20]

If we take into consideration, for instance, the fragment LR.098r we immediately realize that each title is in fact a double title: the first (the *subscriptio*) refers to the previous work, while the second (the *inscriptio*) to the following work. Both are extremely brief:

ⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲗⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏ
ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲣⲁⲕⲱ⸗

[ⲟ]ⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩ

Apa Cyril archbishop of Alexandria
By the same author

The following title (BL.OR.03581B.54v) is very similar both as regards the position and the structure:

18 Maniaci 2004, 87–88.
19 Gumbert 2004, 26, 29, 40.
20 For a complete analysis of the titles of the codices taken into consideration here, see Buzi 2011.

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ⲓϵ̅ ⲁⲡⲁ ϩⲏⲗⲓⲁⲥ ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥ
ⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲯⲥⲟⲓ

ⲓϛ̅ ⲟⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲛϩⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ
ⲥⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲗⲟⲩⲧⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ϩⲁⲣⲥⲉⲛⲓⲟⲥ

15. Apa Helias, bishop of the city of Psoi
16. By the same author, about the Syrian Lucius and Arsenius

The two titles are not separated from the text by any caesura, but are identified only by slightly smaller glyphs, sometimes right-sloping, and because they are introduced by a double-hatched and dotted line, very likely designed by the same hand that is responsible for the text.

Normally in this codex the *subscriptio* mentions briefly to whom the work is attributed (in this case Helias, bishop of Psoi, an author documented only in this codex), while the following *inscriptio* often includes the formula 'by the same author' (ⲟⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ or ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩ), sometimes followed by a condensed description of the subject (in this case 'about the Syrian Lucius and Arsenius').

It is clear that what we call here 'titles' – in the absence of a more appropriate term –, that is the brief notes which introduce and close the *excerpta*, are simply indications instrumental to the identification of the textual units rather than real titles.

Sometimes, however, these short notes take the aspect and the function of a paratextual element, mentioning just a date or adding it to the other above-mentioned elements. In the fragment IB.11.078r, for instance, we read:

ⲉϫⲉⲛ ⲥⲟⲩϣ̄ⲙⲫⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ

For the 7th day (of the month) of Parmoute

To summarize, the codex MONB.DV only makes use of double titles or – if we prefer – notes.

But it cannot pass unnoticed that, when our codex was produced (between the 9th and 11th century), the *subscriptiones* – which are a remnant of the manuscript tradition related to the scrolls, where titles were normally located at the end of the works they refer to – were no longer in use any. Additionally, the titles had become much longer, as we have already seen.[21]

21 Buzi 2005b, 109–126 ('titoli a struttura complessa' and 'titoli a struttura complessa espansa').

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If, for instance, we compare the title attributed in our codex to the *Allocutio ad monachos* of Athanasius of Alexandria (a laconic ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲉ-ⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ 'Apa Athanasius archbishop of Alexandria') with the title attributed to the same work in another codex of the same period – a single-text codex – we are able to appreciate the difference (BL.OR.07029, f. 61v):[22]

ⲡⲉϣⲁⲛⲁ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲩⲟϥ ⲙⲡⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲛⲁⲕⲁ ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ϩⲛ ⲥⲟⲩⲥⲁϣϥ ⲙⲡⲉⲃⲟⲧ ⲡⲁϣⲟⲛⲥ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ

The prayer that saint Athanasius pronounced at the moment when he was about to lay down the body, that is on the 7th day of the month of Pashons. In the peace of God, bless us, amen.

Since it is clear that the works contained in our unusual MTM were also – and we may add normally – in circulation with longer and more complex titles, we can deduce that both the old-fashioned use of the *subscriptio*, and the extreme brevity of the titles used in the manuscript in question are the result of a targeted choice, which must have a connection with the purpose of such a codex, as we will see later.

The structure of codex MONB.LY is very similar to that of MONB.DV. Once again, the reconstruction of the codex is only provisional.

Again, the *exerpta* contained in the codex are attributed to several authors, such as Severus of Antioch, Proclus of Constantinople, Athanasius of Alexandria, John of Shmoun and Horsiesis.

As in the case of MONB.DV, the titles all have the same structure, combining a *subscriptio* and an *inscriptio*, as in the following example:

[ⲁⲡⲁ] ⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏ
ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ

ⲟⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲭⲙ ⲡⲉⲓϣⲧ ⲛⲡ
ⲛⲟϭ ⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲛⲁ
ⲭⲱⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ

(Apa) Athanasius, archbishop of Alexandria
By the same author, about the great father Antonius the anchorite

The *inscriptio* of this double title clearly refers to the *Vita Antonii* of Athanasius of Alexandria, the complete and normal title of which is transmitted in manuscript

22 Budge 1915, 503.

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M 579 of the Pierpont Morgan Library. It is a MTM datable, thanks to the presence of a colophon, to August 823. Therefore, the New York codex is probably more than one century older than that of the White Monastery considered here:

ⲡⲃⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲭⲱⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲁϥⲓⲥⲧⲟⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲛϭⲓ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲣⲁⲕⲟⲧⲉ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲉⲁϥⲥⲁϩⲥ ϣⲁ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧϩⲛ ⲧⲉϫⲏⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲙⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲥⲟⲩ̅ⲕ̅ⲃ̅ ⲙⲡⲉⲃⲟⲧ ⲧⲱⲃⲉ

The life of our holy father Apa Antony the anchorite which Apa Athanasius archbishop of Alexandria narrated for us in a letter that he wrote to brothers abroad. He died on the 22nd day of month of Tobe

A comparison of the 'title' attributed to the *excerptum* of the *Vita Antoni* contained in codex MONB.LY and that transmitted by M 579 once again betrays the eccentricity – if you will – of our codex.

The last manuscript which will be analysed here is MONB.BE. As it currently stands, its content includes *excerpta* of works attributed to Horsiesis, Basilius of Caesarea, Ruphus of Shotep, Carur, Constantine of Siout, Athanasius of Alexandria, Demetrius of Antioch and Archelaos of Neapolis.

The structure of MONB.BE differs somewhat from that of the two codices already analysed. All its titles are *inscriptiones*, and they were all written in the same distinctive, thin, right-sloping handwriting. Furthermore, they were delimited by broken lines or inserted in a sort of rectangle.

It is reasonable to suppose that the copyist who wrote the MTM made use of one or more models which were older than the ones used by the copyist of MONB.DV and MONB.LY. He was therefore not bound to create *ad hoc* short titles to separate the *excerpta* and could instead simply re-use the originals.

However, despite this difference and in the same way as the two other *florilegia*, the titles contained in MONB.BE are very different, in length and complexity, from those normally in circulation between the 9th and 11th century. And once more this stresses the anomaly of the MTMs which are taken into consideration here.

This is clear if we compare, for instance, the title of the *In Matthaeum* of Rufus contained in MONB.BE (WK.09644r):[23]

[ⲟ]ⲩ ⲕⲁⲑⲏⲕⲏⲥⲓ̈ⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ϩⲣⲟⲩⲫⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ
[ⲛ]ⲱⲑⲧⲏ ⲉⲩϩⲏⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓ̈ⲙ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲥⲉϩⲁⲣϩ̅

23 Sheridan 1998, 125.

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> A catechesis of Apa Rufus, the bishop of Shotep, for the profit of everyone who will listen and take heed

with those transmitted by MONB.BN, which is a single-text codex:

> ⲡⲙⲉϩⲯⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲁⲡⲁ ϩⲣⲟⲩⲫⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛϣⲱⲧⲡ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉϩⲣⲏⲧⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲇⲉ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲣⲁⲇⲓⲇⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲱϩⲁⲛⲛⲏⲛ ⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲅⲁⲗⲓⲗⲁⲓⲁ ⲁϥⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲍⲁⲣⲉⲑ ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ (IB.12.33v).[24]

> The ninth homily of this wise one, Apa Rufus, the bishop of the city of Shotep on the Gospel according to Matthew, the text being this: 'But he heard that John had been handed over and he went to Galilee. He left Nazareth'.

> ⲡⲙⲉϩⲙⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲉⲁϥⲧⲁⲩⲟϥ ⲛϭⲓ ⲡⲉⲓⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ (sic) ⲁⲡⲁ ϩⲣⲟⲩⲫⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛϣⲱⲧ (sic) ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙⲁⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲉϩⲣⲏⲧⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ϫⲓⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲁϥⲁⲣⲭⲉⲓ ⲛϭⲓ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲉⲧⲁϣⲉⲟⲉⲓϣ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉϫⲟⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ̈ ⲁⲥϩⲱⲛ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛϭⲓ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲛⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ (IB.12.35v).[25]

> The tenth homily that his wise one, the holy Apa Rufus, the bishop of the city of Shotep, gave on the Gospel according to Matthew, the text being this: 'From that time on Jesus began to preach and to say: Repent for the kingdom of heaven has drawn near'.

Although this sort of survey has to be considered as preliminary, it is possible to sketch some provisional considerations.

The collections of excerpts which have been analysed, with a selection of meaningful passages from different works, take on the form of anthologies, *i.e.* collections of selected pieces, without significant interventions on their original content.

The frequent mention of a date suggests that they were probably read on special occasions according to the liturgical calendar of the White Monastery. As a matter of fact, it is well known that the White Monastery, in addition to the normal liturgy, used selected passages of the works of Shenoute. Therefore, it would not be surprising to learn that other works were also used for the same purpose. On the other hand, the most similar example to our manuscripts, as far as the structure is concerned, is the so called *Florilegium Sinuthianum* (MONB.XL) which contains *excerpta* of the nine *Canons* of Shenute, connected by means of brief annotations in red ink, predominantly *subscriptiones*, consisting of a simple ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩ, 'by the same author'. And this cannot be a mere coincidence.

24 Sheridan 1998, 98
25 Sheridan 1998, 103.

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Moreover, the three *florilegia* which have been analysed are all drawn up by the same hand and are characterized by a certain graphic regularity, which excludes their private use (private books are usually much less accurate artefacts).

As we have already stressed, the *inscriptiones* and *subscriptiones* utilized in the *florilegia* codices, rather than titles, must be considered as notes useful to the immediate identification of the selected texts, which is confirmed by the fact that these titles also circulated in a larger version.

As for the slightly different structure of MONB.BE, it seems to demonstrate that this kind of codex was not subject to specific and univocal rules, although it is not substantially different from other multiple-text White Monastery codices (MTMs), as far as the handwriting typology, the *mise en page* and the choice of the parchment, are concerned.

What we still do not know about the *scriptoria* of Christian Egypt and in particular about the choices and the literary activities of the White Monastery is obstructing our efforts to sketch the profile of the groups responsible for such a work of selection, extrapolation and combination of texts more precisely.

We do not know, for instance, if our codices are *miscellanea primaria* or *miscellanea secundaria*, that is if they are created at the same time as the codices which transmit them or if they are pre-existent, and therefore simply reproduced by the copyist from an older model.

The fact that to date we have only very few examples of such a specific type of MTMs precludes our understanding of their diffusion. Are they codicological items peculiar to the White Monastery? Or is it just because of accidental circumstances that they are not attested elsewhere?

In any case, we are inclined to believe that the scribe (either if we consider them as *miscellanea primaria* or as *miscellanea secundaria*) has not acted for his personal use, but rather that such *corpora* were created for the entire monastic community, and with a liturgical purpose.

It is not possible to say more for the moment, but clearly this is another example – although a very peculiar one – of the important role of MTMs in Egypt from the 8th century onward.

Much remains to be done and many other questions still need to be answered. Personally, I am convinced that late MTMs are one of the clues to a better comprehension of the evolution of Coptic culture and, even more important, to identifying the groups of people responsible for the choices and the aims of late Coptic literature, which, at that time, had the delicate task of protecting the Christian Egyptian identity in a country where the spoken and written language was progressively moving towards that of the new Arab rulers.

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Abbreviations

Sigla of the collections of manuscripts mentioned in this article (the abbreviations in brackets refer to Emmel 1990):[26]

BL. (= GB-BL):	London, British Library
CC./CC.inv.(= EG-C):	Berlin, Königliche Bibliothek (now Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz – Orientabteilung)
IB. (= IT-NB):	Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III
LR. (= NL-LR):	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden
WK. (= AT-NB):	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung

Moreover the following abbreviations are used:

CMCL	Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari (Rome–Hamburg)
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorium Christianorum Orientalium

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26 The abbreviations in brackets refer to Emmel 1990.

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Alessandro Bausi

Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts: The Ethiopian Evidence

1 The Ethiopian manuscript tradition

Rooted in the remote past of the Aksumite kingdom (1st to 7th century CE, an 'African civilization of Late Antiquity'), from the name of its capital Aksum, in the northern Ethiopian highland, the Ethiopian area offers a peculiar case study to manuscript studies in ancient, medieval and modern times. Historically a country of written civilization starting from the first millennium BCE, Ethiopia and Eritrea bear witness to the relatively early introduction in ancient times of parchment roll and codex, the latter having been strongly fostered by the Christianization of the country already in the 4th century CE. Taking advantage of the climate of the Abyssinian highlands, manuscript production has enjoyed a steady fortune for centuries till the present time.[1]

Assessed internal linguistic and historical evidence as well as fresh data directly relating to the Alexandrian and Ethiopian Churches recently come to light corroborates the hypothesis of a strict dependence of the Ethiopian scribal practice and written culture upon that of Christian Egypt, which early provided Aksum with manuscripts transmitting Greek texts (Bible, Apocrypha and Pseud-

I would like to express my deep gratitude to J. Peter Gumbert and to Michael Friedrich for their remarks on a previous version of this contribution. Usual disclaims apply and every statement and error is entirely the responsibility of the author. – Manuscript leaves will be consistently indicated with 'folium, folia, fol., foll.' etc.

1 While fully satisfactory overall presentations of the Ethiopian manuscript culture are still missing, an approximate idea can be formed on the basis of some contributions. Besides the classic work by Sergew Hable Sellasie 1981, a comprehensive review of the available literature with extensive references can be found in Bausi 2008, 2011a, 2014a; Siegbert Uhlig / Alessandro Bausi, "Manuscripts", in: *EAe* vol. 3, 2007, 738*a*–744*a*; see also Bausi 2004, 2009*c*; Faqāda Śellāsē Tafarrā 2010; Lusini 2011; Nosnitsin 2012, 2016; and the relevant sections in Bausi et al. 2015, 46–49, General Introduction, "§ 3.7: Ethiopic manuscripts" (Alessandro Bausi); 154–174, Chapter 1, § 6, "Codicology of Ethiopic manuscripts" (Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, Alessandro Bausi, Claire Bosc-Tiessé and Denis Nosnitsin); 287–291, Chapter 2, § 5, "Ethiopic Palaeography" (Alessandro Bausi and Denis Nosnitsin).

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epigrapha, patristic, canonical, liturgical, probably also historical texts and collections). Yet the relatively recent date of most Ethiopic manuscripts (among which only two or three Four Gospels books could predate the 12th century) and the long-lasting scholarly assumption of a mostly Arabic-based Ethiopian Christianity deeply marked by medieval Egyptian culture, combined with the misleading effects of updatings and rearrangements carried out in Ethiopia itself in the course of time, that have somehow occulted archaic aspects of Ethiopian civilization, have conspired to bring about a substantial underestimation of several ancient features of the Ethiopian scribal and manuscript practice, particularly of its Greek-based heritage.[2]

The profound acquaintance of Ethiopians with parchment manuscripts and the way this familiarity permeated daily life and common experience, can be well appreciated from a recently published passage drawn from a 15th-century hagiographic narrative, which *inter alia* provides a useful terminology of parchment preparation (with which I cannot deal in detail on this occasion):[3]

> The saint also made a parable for them based upon the goatskins needed for bookmaking (saying), 'You brought the goatskin from the markets; after it was brought (to you), did you soak (it) in water? After it was soaked, was it beaten with a stick? After it was beaten, was it hung? Was it flattened and scrubbed? Having been scrubbed, was it washed and did it become clean?' His disciples interpreted for him, saying, 'It was, indeed, brought from the markets; it was put in the water and was soaked. Having been soaked, it was beaten. But the stick did not soften some of it, because it was tough and bony, and water could not moisten it. Some were beaten but not hung. Some were beaten, hung and flattened. Some were scrubbed but not washed. Some were scrubbed and washed but were not written on'. Thus did the disciples of the saint interpret for him. The saint said to them, 'You speak truthful words as God has shown you. Regarding what you said, "It was not written on", this is because the time and the age for writing have not yet come'.[4]

2 Among other elements, the etymology itself of the word for parchment, i.e. *berānnā*, from Lat. *membrana*, also attested in Greek, *membrána*, provides clear evidence. There was uncertainty concerning the real etymology of this term. The emergence now of supplementary evidence on its actual spelling as *berānnā*, and not **berhānnā*, corroborates the hypothesis of a derivation from *membrana*. On the question see Bausi 2008, 522, and new fresh evidence in Tedros Abraha 2007, 228, l. 6 (see Bausi 2009a, 436); Tedros Abraha 2009, 148, l. 29 (see Bausi 2010d, 253). I had already discussed the additional evidence from the colophon of the manuscript Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, Martini etiop. 5 (see below), in Bausi 2014a, 42–43.

3 For a first contribution towards Ethiopian manuscript culture terminology, see Faqāda Śellāsē Tafarrā 2010, 305–320; and also Mersha Alehegn 2011; review of previous literature in Bausi 2008; on the term *gabira ʾab* see Brita 2014 and on the terminology of the colophon see Bausi 2016b, 253.

4 Getatchew Haile 2011, 29 (transl.), 39–40 (text).

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The love for books and search for manuscripts also frequently appear as a hagiographic *tópos*. The monks of the Ewosṭātean community (since the 14th century), among others, are depicted as particularly fond of books, and so are other very important monastic figures, such as the 14th century saint Baṣalota Mikāʾel.[5]

2 Phenomenology of composite (and multiple-text) manuscripts

The aim of the present contribution is twofold: (a) it intends to present a short overview of the general phenomenology of practice and use of composite and multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) (especially composite but also multi-textual) within the Ethiopian manuscript culture; (b) it will then deal with a peculiar MTM.

The notion of MTM is a rather obvious one in the Ethiopian manuscript practice—we have evidence for hagiographical, historical, liturgical collections which have grown up and have been transmitted within MTMs—whereas composite manuscripts have not been made the object of any specific investigation so far. It is obvious, however, that the two notions appear to be somehow inevitably related. Moreover, some theoretical proposals—centering around the concept of 'corpus organizer'—are intended to open further discussion on the topics.[6]

2.1 Composite manuscripts

In the debate on 'composite manuscripts and MTMs'—where several specialists have based their considerations and proposals upon the results of extensive researches and well-thought methodologies—it is more than premature to attempt to provide a systematic presentation of the evidence of the Ethiopian tradition,

5 See Lusini 2004 for the Ewosṭāteans; on the case of the monk Baṣalota Mikāʾēl, see Bausi 2009, 185.

6 See now Bausi 2010a. The concept of the manuscript as 'corpus organizer' is researched within the Sonderforschungsbereich 950 'Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa' / Collaborative Research 'Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures'. Related concepts and questions—obviously common to many manuscript cultures—have been approached, e.g. for Syriac manuscripts by Kessel 2011. Of general inspiration is the essay on libraries and books/texts collections in the ancient world by Too 2010.

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and this for the very simple reason that we do not have any substantial or organized data at disposal. What can be done is to present a few examples to show how research on Ethiopic manuscripts and the written knowledge they transmit can (or could) benefit from the theoretical and practical analysis which have been advanced for other codex areas—in particular the Greek and medieval European, as usual—probably also from other perspectives.

It goes without saying that even the most detailed catalogues of Ethiopic manuscripts—e.g. the catalogue of the manuscripts of the Vatican Library by Sylvain Grébaut and Eugène Tisserant[7]—or those which are generally acknowledged to be among the best examples of the last decades[8]—such as the catalogue of 21 manuscripts of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana of Florence by Paolo Marrassini (1986–1987), which both provide a detailed analysis of the quire structure—neither apply the concept of the codicological unit nor that of either 'boundary', 'caesura', 'block', 'section' etc. (according to Gumbert's 2004 terminology, here used I hope not too much improperly, with some approximation, for convenience while the most suitable in the English language).[9] In these catalogues, consequently, only a distinction of 'texts' is mainly noted, as well as a

7 Grébaut / Tisserant 1935–1936. As is well known, the catalogue is one of the most important ones, due to the antiquity of the collection it describes, which also includes manuscripts of great importance for the development of Ethiopian studies in Europe; it is, however, scarcely representative of the average 'Ethiopian manuscripts collections' as it contains an unusually high number of paper manuscripts: out of 283 described manuscript entries (Vaticani Aethiop. 1 to 248, plus Borg. Aethiop. 1 to 37, plus 1 Barberianus orientalis and 1 Rossianus: less 3 prints and one lost manuscript; also note that several manuscripts are composite), 55 are paper manuscripts, which is a quite unusual percentage. The number of scrolls must also been considered, i.e. 29. It is however an indispensable tool for the study of Ethiopic manuscripts, due to the almost unparalleled amount of ancient manuscripts dating up to the 16th century it preserves. The description is not formalized: even though a discoursive description might have its advantages over a strict formula, the impression is that the descriptions are in some cases inconsistent or leave too much space for ambiguity. (It is for instance not clear if the description of the structure is determined somehow by the numbering, so including, or not, guard leaves, only on the base of the presence of the page(/quire?) numbering.) The composite manuscripts are also not clearly indicated. The notion of 'part' is used, which leaves a lot to interpretation. Definitely the catalogue is very far from the concept of 'production unit'—several cases attest a joined production by more scribes, resulting in discrete 'parts', which, however, belong to the same production unit (see below).

8 For a review of cataloguing practices of Ethiopic manuscripts, see Bausi 2007.

9 See Gumbert 2004. For further contributions on the topics, besides the very rich proceedings volume by Crisci / Pecere 2004 (see in particular Petrucci 2004, Maniaci 2004, Crisci 2004), see Andrist 2006; Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2010; Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013; useful also the general parts in Ronconi 2007, 1–32. The notions of 'production unit' and 'circulation unit' here sometimes

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distinction of 'hands'—the two, however, being often described quite separately and in a totally unrelated way: it is therefore up to the reader to interrelate data, if possible, and to draw some conclusions in case.

A new impulse to Ethiopic manuscripts cataloguing has been provided by the recent series *Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project* edited by Steve Delamarter.[10] The perspective of this enterprise privileges material elements, even though the catalogues sometimes display a *describere sine interpretatione* ('description without interpretation')—as Karl Lachmann maintained to be necessary for the *recensere*, that is, the crucial phase of text-critical analysis when the mutual interrelationship of the witnesses to a text is carried out.[11] In some cases, in fact, the presentation of the material evidence, that is more than welcome, has been assumed—without any real need—as alternative (and finally, detrimental) to the textual and philological description. One cannot ignore that this attitude seems to be an attempt at 'redeeming' Christian civilization of Ethiopia, through investigation of its 'real and unique material evidence', from the purportedly subordinate status where historical and philological investigation has confined it to, by understanding it as one out of the several components of the Christian Orient.[12]

employed were introduced by Paul Canart on the occasion of the COMSt (Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies, European Science Foundation Networking Programme) workshop 'Towards an ideal chapter on Oriental manuscripts cataloguing', Frankfurt University, 14 June 2011, organized by Paola Buzi and Witold Witakowski.

10 See Delamarter 2011a; the volumes are *EMIP 1* 2009a, *EMIP 1* 2009b—on which see Bausi 2010c, Marrassini 2010—*EMIP 2* 2011, *EMIP 7* 2011; other volumes are in preparation.

11 As I commented upon on the occasion of the publication of the forefather of the series, i.e. Delamarter / Demeke Berhane 2007; see also Marrassini 2010; the passage in Lachmann / Buttmann 1841–1850, I, v, 'Recensere [...] sine interpretatione et possumus et debemus'; on which see Timpanaro 2005, 88–89.

12 *EMIP 1* 2009b is a companion volume hosting very beautiful colour plates as well as additional descriptions of material aspects of the 105 codices included in the catalogue (the main volume also comprising the description of 134 magic scrolls). Both *EMIP 1* 2009a and *EMIP 1* 2009b comprise an 'Index of Scribal Practices in the Codices' (main volume) and an 'Index of Scribal Practice' (plates volume): the phenomenon of 'composite' manuscripts, in fact, is noted in the latter under the entry 'Quires from varying sources' (sic) for two out of the 105 codices described (i.e. nos 42 and 51). The terminology, however, is neither consistent nor up to date, e.g. 'The codex is comprised of several parts, that is, folios taken from various sources', *EMIP 1* 2009a, 118; 'The codex appears to be composite with quires from four different sources', *ibid.* 143; "*Combined codices*", Delamarter 2011b, xxxviii.

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2.2 Manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Orientale 148

One relevant case in point could be that of a very famous manuscript of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana collection, the Orientale 148.[13] The case of this manuscript is a relevant one, because we have in it at least four, if not five, distinct codicological units.

I. (Folia 1–4). – The first codicological unit we can single out, is composed of one binion of 4 folia (bound in wrong order) with a main, even though short text, containing rules for the monastic community of Jerusalem dating back to 1331/1332—i.e. the most ancient document issued by the Ethiopian monastic community of Jerusalem,[14] that along with that in Rome was for centuries one of the most important Ethiopian communities abroad—plus two 'enrichments' consisting of two smaller 'guest texts' by three different hands: in fact, this unit could also be interpreted in turn as an 'infix' which gave birth together with the following one

13 See Marrassini 1987–1988 [II], 90–97 (no. 16), also for references to the three *codices descripti* (partially) depending upon Orientale 148 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Aethiop. 1 and 2, see Grébaut / Tisserant I, 1–13; and Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. III, 2, see Bausi 1991, 10–14, 20–23; now also Bausi 2015b, 216–220). Besides Marrassini 1987–1988, on the manuscript see Monneret de Villard 1943, and Ricci 1960; supplementary references on the history of the manuscript are given in Bausi 1991 and 1995, I, xvii–xviii (text). The description by Marrassini gives folia 1 + 203 + 1 for the following sequence of quires: 1 binion [folia 1–4: real sequence: 2–1–4–3] + 20 quaternions [folia 5–162 [it should be 5–164 and the description is definitely approximative, either for in some of the quires a total of 2 folia is missing, or for some other reason]] + 1 binion (with the fourth fol. missing) [folia 163–165] + 2 quaternions [folia 166–181: but quaternion on folia 166–173 is definitely of a different hand as stated in the catalogue, and contains a text which does not appear in the *codex descriptus* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Aethiop. 1, where, on the contrary, sections II and IV appear: an important clue, if not evidence, that at a certain point the 'circulation unit' of the manuscript did not include section III] + 1 quinion [folia 182–191: the real sequence (182, 183, 184, 185 [in the catalogue, erroneously, '184'], 188, 186*, 187*, 189, 190, 191) has been disturbed by the erroneous insertion of a bifolium (folia 186–187) in the middle of the quaternion after fol. 185, and not between foll. 188 and 189, as it had been planned] + 1 binion [folia 192–195] + 1 quaternion [folia 196–203]). This should be therefore definitely called a 'file' according to Gumbert's terminology, but I do not see how we can escape the supposed ambiguity of the functional (and finally, I would say: historical) interpretation in the description. Very refined codicological analysis seems in fact to have reintroduced elements which orginate from the needs of the description, but which strictly point to the 'history' of the manuscript on the one side, to philological considerations on the other: finally, to much less material elements than expected.

14 See Cerulli 1943–1947, II, 380–382 (text and transl.): Cerulli correctly gives the sequence of the folia as 4v–3v.

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to an 'enlarged codicological unit': were it not, that we have here to do with a specific codicological typology, i.e. a document consisting of a short compendium of monastic rules on which the small community agreed upon after an assembly precisely dated, which one cannot exclude existed independently (as a 'file') in the form of an unbound two-leaf quire for some time, before it was either used as guard leaves or bound in one volume, according to a practice which is traceable for a number of documentary texts probably for preceeding, certainly for later times. The text of the document certainly antedates the writing of the following text: yet, the catalogue does not provide any information which allows to determine with certainty if the handwriting of the present binion is palaeographically older than the hand which wrote the following text, which seems to date back to around 1426 (see below). The fact that the 4 folia are bound in wrong order, however, testify that they were secondarily arranged, and makes the hypothesis that the monastic document is a 'guest text' inserted on a guard leaf rather unlikely.

II. (Folia 5–165). – The second codicological unit comprises 20 quires (quaternions, i.e. quires of 4 bifolia = 8 folia = 16 pages, i.e. folia 5–162, even if apparently two folia are missing) and 1 binion (folia 163–165, with the fourth fol. missing), which have been bound again in wrong order. It is one of the oldest manuscript witness of the *Sinodos*, the most important medieval (post-Aksumite) canonico-liturgical collection of the Ethiopian church. I will come back to this collection. Let me only note here that the name of this corpus of canonical texts probably points to the concept of 'collection': I thought once that it could actually derive from the 'church synod, council', Greek *sýnodos*, but I wonder whether the real meaning—possibly also in its antecedents, from which it was translated into Ethiopic—is better related to the 'coming together' of things,[15] i.e. to 'combination, union'.

III. (Folia 166–173). – The third codicological unit consists of one quaternion occupied by one text, i.e. the Ethiopic version of one of the *Expositions* of the Syriac writer Aphraat, which is a *unicum* in the Ethiopic literary and manuscript tradition:[16] but while sections II and IV appear (consecutively!) in the *codex descriptus* of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Aethiop. 1, section III does not: which seems to point to the later character of the present sequence of sections (not necessarily of the dating of the single sections!), for which the manuscript Aethiop. 1 (dated to the 16th century) could be a *terminus post quem*.

15 See Bausi 1992, 18, n. 1; on this meaning of the Greek term, see Lampe 1961, 1335a.

16 See Marrassini 1987–1988, [II], 95; first edited and translated by Cerulli 1964, who did not identify the text; a translation of the original Syriac text is found in Pierre 1988, 441–471.

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IV. (Folia 174–203). – The fourth codicological unit consists of one quaternion (folia 174–181, with a mutilated text on fol. 181v, according to the catalogue), one quinion and one binion: the quinion is the result of the insertion of an 'infix' and is actually an 'enlarged' quire (once again, bound in wrong order). The section contains a series of chronological treatises. On fol. 181v the date of 6462 year of Mercy, i.e. 1426 CE is noted. The chronological treatises are completed by a series of tables on folia 199v–203. Folia 196–199, however, contain an unidentified text of monastic character which interrupts the series of chronological material. As the phenomenon is not unusual, one way is to explain the presence of such a text as a way of filling up the empty leaves of the quire.[17]

Last, not least, there is a further very much disturbing element: the volume has no Ethiopian binding, but it exhibits a European parchment binding, about which the catalogue does not provide any element concerning dating, origin and context.

As a very preliminary conclusion, the question whether the number and extension of wrong sequences of folia points to an inaccurate binding remains unanswered, but this possibility appears likely in the light of the codicological evidence. More than that, the entire analysis, and especially the problem of dating, should have been posed in a different way. The generally accepted dating of the manuscript—as a whole!—to 1426 (which I myself, I must confess, have accepted when editing some sections of the *Sinodos*) refers to the fourth codicological unit—and can be only used as an indicative, hypothetical term in case palaeographical dating confirms (as it appears) that the hand of section IV is the same as that of section II. But also the connection to Jerusalem of one of the *Expositions* of Aphraat—taken for granted so far[18]—might be reconsidered in the light of these elements.

17 On the practice of inserting small monastic texts in the blanks, see Lusini 1998, 55–56; also Alessandro Bausi, "Monastic literature", in *EAe* vol. 3, 2007, 993a–999b, esp. 994, 997. I owe to Peter Gumbert the suggestion that the 'sequence chronology–tables, "interrupted" by a monastic text' could be better or at least alternatively explained thinking that 'foll. 196–203 were a separate quire (yet another codicological unit), containing a short monastic text, and that it was added to the book because its last leaves were empty and could serve to write the tables in'.
18 See Lusini 2000, 153–155.

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2.3 Manuscript Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, Martini etiop. 5

Another very famous manuscript, the manuscript Pistoia, Biblioteca Forteguerriana, Martini etiop. 5, offers an interesting case. The manuscript is 'articulated' in 'sections' distinguished by 'caesurae', i.e. 'boundaries which coincide with a quire boundary': nonetheless, the manuscripts remains 'monomerous', i.e. consisting of a single codicological unit.[19] They can be definitely identifed as 'blocks'.[20] The colophon of this manuscript on fol. 195rb dates to the first half of the 15th century (1437/1438), during the reign of King Zarʾa Yāʿqob (1434–1468). The manuscript is one out of a series of monumental biblical 'Octateuchs' (i.e. biblical Old Testament manuscripts consisting of Genesis, Leviticus, Exodus, Numbers, Deutoronomy, Joshua, Judges and Ruth) of large size (195 folia, 2 cols., mm 465 x 350). The colophon has the following interesting passage:[21]

> The Book of Ruth from the Octateuch has been finished. And this book was written in the ninetieth year of Mercy: it was started in the month of Yakkātit and finished in the month of Naḥasi, [while] our King [was] Zarʾa Yāʿqob and our Metropolitan *ʾabbā* Bartalomēwos. It was Our Father Gabramāryām who had it written: let God write his name on the golden pillar by a bejewelled pen in the Heavenly Jerusalem with all his [spiritual] sons for ever and ever. Amen. Malka Ṣēdēq wrote the Book of Numbers, Deutoronomy and Joshua, while I myself, Ṗāwlos, wrote the other [books]. If we added or omitted anything, either wittingly or not, forgive and bless us for ever and ever. Amen. And bless the makers of parchment, because they laboured much.

The colophon demonstrates that in this case the 'parchment makers', *sarāḥta berānnā*, are definitely figures distinct from the copyists, who are mentioned by their names, Malka Ṣēdēk and Ṗāwlos. Moreover, the making of the book was a 'team work', because at least two copyists took part in it. The codicological analysis of the manuscript shows that they probably worked at the same time. Malka Ṣēdēq's portion of the text (Numbers, Deutoronomy and Joshua, on folia 93–173)

19 It is actually a single 'production unit'. For the astonishing case of the single 'production unit' of the Arabic Bible of manuscript BnF, Arabe 1, see Vollandt 2012, with the remarks by Gumbert 2012.

20 I am grateful to J. Peter Gumbert for suggesting the use of this term in this context. Still J. Peter Gumbert remarks that 'we learn that Ṗawlos wrote 81 + 15 = 106 foll. in six months, that is an average of 0.6 fol. per day—a rather slow rate if compared to the 1 to 2 foll./day normal for Western scribes (and Arab scribes work very much faster)'.

21 See Fiaccadori 1993, 162–163; description and bibliography also in Lusini 2002, 161–163, with shelfmark "Ms. Martini etiop. n. 2 (= Zanutto n. 5)"; see also Bausi 2014a, 42–43.

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is written on a separate set of quires and the whole work took no longer than six/seven months. On the other hand, Ṗāwlos is mentioned again in a caption (on fol. 5v) as the author of the illustration showing Moses who receives the Tablets of the Law, with Joshua and Aron.

2.4 Manuscript BnF, d'Abbadie 94

Another useful example is given by a 'MTM' as far as its texts are concerned, which in fact is also a 'composite', i.e. manuscript BnF, d'Abbadie 94. The manuscript probably consists of three codicological units.

I. The first codicological unit contains two hagiographic texts in the quires of folia 2–33: folia 2ra–20va contain the Acts of Abunāfer (*Gadla ʾAbunāfer*)[22] and folia 22ra–32rb, the Acts of Kiros (*Gadla Kiros*)[23]. Foll. 21 and 33 are blank.

II. A second codicological unit comprises a special dossier dedicated to the biblical character of Melchizedek, respectively: (A) folia 34ra–41rb, the *Story of Melchizedek*, an originally Greek text (spuriously attributed to Athanasius in a minority of Greek and Arabic manuscripts) witnessed in a Geʿez version (probably from Arabic), also attested in Coptic, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian and Georgian; (B) from the *Qērellos*, i.e. a dogmatic patristic collection attributed to Cyril of Alexandria (*Qērellos* in Geʿez): (1) folia 41va–47rb, and (2) folia 47rb–53rb, first and second homilies by Cyril of Alexandria on Melchizedek; (3) folia 53rb–55rb, a homily attributed in the manuscript to Retuʿa Haymānot, 'the Orthodox', but really, again, a short treatise dedicated to the biblical character of Melchizedek. Homilies and treatise are almost certainly translations from the original Greek, which is lost, and the Ethiopic version is the only existing witness to the text (by the way, ancient fragments from manuscript Erevan, Matenadaran 947, of the second homily of Cyril are preserved).[24]

22 See Pereira 1905, from manuscript BL, Orient. 763; the text, among others, also in manuscripts BnF, d'Abbadie 85 and 91; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Aethiop. 264; EMML nos 5 and 1844. On the tradition in general, see Buzi 2015.

23 See Marrassini 2004 and 2005; now also the thorough analysis by Krzyżanowska 2015.

24 See Bausi, "Melchizedek", in: *EAe* vol. 3, 2007, 914b–916b, and "Qerəllos", in: *EAe* vol. 4, 2010, 287a–290a.

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III. A third codicological unit seems to occupy folia 56–63, for which a detailed codicological analysis has suggested a dating to the 14th century. It contains the homily on the archangel Afnin (*Dersāna ʾAfnin*).[25]

The hagiographical texts (first unit) were most probably written by a hand different from that of the Melchizedek dossier (second unit), which is, in turn, a homogeneous and originally autonomous group of quires reserved for texts on the biblical character drawn from different sources.

This manuscript belongs to one of the most famous and important collections of Ethiopic manuscripts, i.e. the d'Abbadie collection in Paris, to which three different catalogues have been devoted in the course of time, the pioneering one by Antoine d'Abbadie in 1859, by Marius Chaîne in 1912, and by Carlo Conti Rossini in 1912–1914 (reprinted as offprint in 1914).[26] Yet, without any fresh inspection it is impossible to appreciate the real structure of the manuscript.[27]

This is a case where the ideal relationship between the single pieces that have been bound in one volume—hagiographical and apocryphal texts—appears relatively weak, or uncertain at least. The trigger in this case might have been a reason of economic character, that is the need to bind in one, yet slim volume, more codicological units that were too small to be bound separately in one volume each. If not a similarity of content, probably a similarity of function can be singled out, since they are all texts of strictly non-liturgical character.

2.5 Manuscripts of the *Miracles of Mary*

The *Miracles of Mary*, a collection of narrative pieces focusing on the miracles performed by Saint Mary, is one of the most important works of Ethiopic literature.[28] The *Miracles of Mary* have accompanied the development of Ethiopian literature since the 15th century, it is one of the most popular Christian works, and typifies the specific attitude of Ethiopian literature to gradual reception, assimilation and adaptation of foreign elements, as well as to creation of indigenous

25 See Conti Rossini 1950; codicological analysis and retrieval of the end of the homily by Fiaccadori 1998, 46, who indicates a similar case in the manuscript BnF, d'Abbadie 126, a composite consisting of three codicological units. See now the critical edition by Beylot 2014.

26 See d'Abbadie 1859; Chaîne 1912; Conti Rossini 1914; see also Bosc-Tiessé / Wion 2010.

27 What I have presented here is nothing more than the result of a first examination which I could, unfortunately, conduct only on the microfilm for the moment being, also utilizing some data from Fiaccadori 1998.

28 See Ewa Balicka Witakowska / Alessandro Bausi, "Täʾammərä Maryam", in: *EAe* vol. 4, 2010, 789b–793b.

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ones. It has a general paradigmatic value of the way cultural East-West relationships developed during the Middle Ages, from West to East, but also from East to West. The nucleus of collection of *Miracles of Mary* was composed in the 12th century in France, on the basis of the tales about the miracles performed by Saint Mary in her main shrines in connection with an epidemic of Saint Anthony's fire. The text gained great popularity and was progressively enriched by new stories circulated in the whole Catholic West, from Spain to Hungary, from Iceland to Italy, later on also in Greece and Cyprus. Translated into Arabic between 1237 and 1289 (possibly in several steps) in the Latin Orient from a European manuscript, the *Miracles of Mary* spread to Palestine, Syria and Egypt, everywhere growing with new episodes connected to the important places of Marian devotion. At the end of the 14th century, probably on the initiative of King Dāwit II the *Miracles of Mary* were translated into Ethiopic from a Copto-Arabic *Vorlage*, that is a collection in Arabic version used by the Copts of Egypt, which in its turn might have closely followed the European model. In the Ethiopian manuscript tradition, the *Miracles of Mary* vary considerably in length, different manuscripts including any number of miracles between one (which can also frequently occur as a 'guest text') to several hundred.[29]

During the time of Zarʾa Yāʿqob, the text of the miracles was preceded by an introduction (*Maṣḥafa śerʿat*, 'Book of the Regulation'), authored by Zarʾa Yāʿqob and dated to 1441/1442. It contained prescriptions concerning the readings of the *Miracles of Mary* and specified the rituals required at those occasions. According to this text (known also as the *Canon of al-Muʿallaqah*, from the name of the famous church, lit. 'The Hanging One', in Old Cairo), the rules were established in the Coptic Church. However, they are known only from Ethiopian manuscripts, no Coptic or Arabic copy having come down to us.

At the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, the number of stories grew up to a couple of hundreds (e.g. 150 in the manuscript of Veroli, Biblioteca Giovardiana, dating to 1517; 202 miracles in manuscript EMML no. 3872) and in the 17th and 18th century to over 300 (303 miracles in manuscript BL, Orient. 637, of the second half of the 17th century; 316 in manuscript BL, Orient. 643, of 1717; 354 in manuscript EMML no. 3051). Since the 17th century, a canonical group of 33 miracles was constantly copied, but a varying set of other miracles followed in each manuscript.

29 There is not yet any assessed evaluation of the total number of narratives. In an unpublished list (compiled by William Macomber) the *Miracles of Mary* in Ethiopian tradition are about 640 different narratives. Further attempts have been provided by Ch. Lombardi 2009, and S. Lombardi 2010, with an extensive list of 690 miracles.

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2.5.1 Manuscripts of the *Miracles of Mary* from the Ethio-SPaRe Project

It might be useful now to examine some manuscripts. They are taken from the documentation collected by the Ethio-SPaRe project, based at the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies of the University of Hamburg and directed by Denis Nosnitsin, to whom I am very grateful for providing the material.[30]

(1) manuscript Ethio-SPaRe AP-035 (from ʿAddiqaḥarsi Ṗarāqliṭos, shelfmark C3-IV-28) (Figs. 1–5): this first case is that of a composite manuscript, where the collection of the miracles constitute a codicological unit (folia 15–188), which is preceded by an independent codicological unit (folia 4–14) at the beginning of the codex, after three guard leaves, hosting at least two hymns to the Virgin Mary. The collection of the miracles in it consists of a codicological unit that is divided in 'text boundaries' (collection of 89 miracles plus two homilies on the Virgin—Homily of Cyril, patriarch of Jerusalem, and Homily of Heryāqos of Behensā—for the latter of which a *subscriptio* is also provided).

(2) manuscript Ethio-SPaRe DZ-014 (from Dabra Zayt) (Figs. 6–7): the second manuscript of the *Miracles of Mary* seems to consist of 'one homogeneous codicological unit' (comprising 162 miracles), which has been 'enlarged' by the insertion of an 'infix', i.e. a bifolium containing an illustration of Mary with the child flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel on the one side, and by David on the other side. The 'infix' has been inserted in a 'text boundary', i.e. between the 'Book of the Regulation' and the first miracles of the collection.

(3) manuscript Ethio-SPaRe UM-014 (from ʿUrā Qirqos) (Figs. 8–10): this manuscript contains on folia 4ra–9ra the *Book of the Regulation* as a codicological unit, of different hand, format etc., which in turn hosts several 'guest texts' both at the beginning and at the end. This could be probably considered as a 'dependent' codicological unit, since it was almost certainly conceived so as to adequate

30 This project—European Research Council, European Union Seventh Framework Programme IDEAS (FP7/2007–2013) / ERC Stating Grant agreement no. 240720 (Ethio-SPaRe), 2009–2015—has in fact collected the first systematic and proper evidence that will allow better textual, but most of all codicological analysis of the Ethiopian manuscript libraries. The several hundreds of manuscripts digitised are preserved in churches and monasteries of the province of Gulo Makadā, in the northern area of the Tegrāy region. Among the most important publications of the project, see now Nosnitsin 2013a, 2013b, who has also preliminarily catalogued the manuscripts presented here (UM-014 and UM-042), together with Stéphane Ancel (DZ-014) and Magdalena Krzyżanowska (AP-035). Further work on the collection will be carried on within the framework of the long-term project (2016–2040) of the Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Hamburg, 'Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: Eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung (beta maṣāḥəft)', based at Hamburg Universität.

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the preexisting 'codicological unit' to the standard form of the collection of the *Miracles of Mary*, as it was usual—and even prescribed!—at the time. We can guess that the lack of the *Book of the Regulation* is due to the fact that the collection of the *Miracles of Mary* (103 miracles) depended upon a *Vorlage* where the Book had not yet been introduced.[31]

(4) manuscript UM-042 (from ʿUrā Qirqos) (Fig. 11): this extremely complex 'composite' manuscript shows a very frequent phenomenon: the first 'codicological unit' of the codex contains a collection of 76 *Miracles of Mary*; more 'codicological units' follow then, consisting of various short collections of *Miracles*, respectively of Jesus, Saint Qirqos, Saint Libānos, hymns to the Virgin. These texts are normally used as a sort of complementary element (they could be termed 'complementizers' in fact[32]) to the *Miracles of Mary*. One should term them all a 'file' consisting of 'independent codicological units', or as 'accretions' forming with the first an 'extended codicological unit', according to the circumstances.[33] What appears, however, is that independently from the strategy used, that in codicology determines either a 'file' or an 'accretion', we have to do here with the same underlying phenomenon, which, in turn, may configure and determine the reality of 'texts', as individuated on the basis of the statistical and distributional use. The figure shows the 'caesura' (if we agree to consider the 'composite' as consisting of more 'codicological units') where the *Miracles of Jesus* start.

2.5.2 Manuscripts of the *Miracles of Mary* in Cerulli's analysis

The complexity of the collection of the *Miracles of Mary* and its interrelationship with other *corpora* and literary genres was well known to one of its best investigators, i.e. the great orientalist Enrico Cerulli, who devoted few, but very im-

31 In a way, I would suggest that this phenomenon demonstrates at the same time both the effectiveness and the concrete reality of the concept and perception of 'text' (see below).

32 This concept probably deserves to be further expanded. It is a different phenomenon, but might also be put somehow in relation with that of 'convoy' used for the texts which in the Slavonic manuscript tradition accompany the main text in the course of the text transmission, see Hannick 2000, 1361b, who defines 'convoy' as 'the placing of a text in its manuscript tradition'.

33 In case 'the blank end of a codicological unit is used to receive a guest text which is so long that it needs the addition of one or more complete quires, and which (by hand, date etc.) would certainly have been considered a codicological unit if it could have been separated from the earlier part by merely snipping the sewing thread, but in fact this can't be done because it starts in a quire of the "other" codicological unit', as kindly remarked by J. Peter Gumbert.

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portant pages to detail on the material component in the development of the collection,[34] on the example of two manuscripts of the d'Abbadie collection, i.e. nos 196 and 114.

In the first manuscript (d'Abbadie 196) a first copyist wrote in a superb hand[35] with green ink, 33 miracles, leaving blanks to host illuminations (folia 6r–112); the same copyist later added a second collection of 15 miracles, first with green and then (from fol. 124v) with black ink (folia 113r–147r); a second copyist has inserted in the blanks left for the illuminations various apocryphal legends on the Virgin Mary, but then also adding (on folia 148v–153) the legend of the apparition of the Virgin Mary to the patriarch Theophilus.[36]

Another manuscript from the same collection, d'Abbadie 114, shows a quasi-reciprocal phenomenon: in this case the miracles are intercalated by two series of illustrations,[37] one strictly relating to the miracles, and the latter relating to the life of the Virgin, to the Passion of Jesus and to Acts of Saints. Cerulli notes one cannot exclude that the subsequent copyists will have liked to insert a text corre-

34 See Cerulli 1943; for a comprehensive bibliography of his contributions on the *Miracles of Mary*, see Balicka Witakowska / Bausi, "Tä'ammərä Maryam". On Cerulli see Lanfranco Ricci, "Cerulli, Enrico", in: *EAe* vol. 1, 2003, 708a–709b; for a first attempt at contextualizing his complex personality as a prominent intellectual and an orientalist, see Mallette 2010, 132–161 (ch. 6: "The Life and Times of Enrico Cerulli"); also Giorgi 2012, *passim*; and Celli 2013a, 19–69 ("Gli studi di Enrico Cerulli su Dante: tra colonialismo e unità del Mediterraneo"), Celli 2013b; see also Bausi 2016e.

35 As Conti Rossini 1914, 90 styles it.

36 See Cerulli 1943, 71: "Come, o per meglio dire, attraverso quali procedimenti materiali siano avvenute queste successive inserzioni di racconti nelle singole serie è provato sufficientemente dal manoscritto 54 CR [= d'Abbadie 196]. In esso infatti un primo amanuense ha scritto una prima serie di 33 racconti seguendo il ms. Zot. 60 [= BnF Éthiop. 60, according to the present shelfmark] e lasciando, intercalati, vari fogli bianchi per il pittore che doveva illustrare i racconti stessi. Successivamente lo stesso amanuense ha aggiunto di seguito altri 15 racconti. Infine, un secondo amanuense ha profittato degli spazi bianchi lasciati dal primo entro i primi 33 racconti per copiarvi altri trentacinque racconti, che, pur essendo in serie fra loro, si trovano così materialmente inseriti nell'altra serie dei primi 33. Si intende che se un successivo amanuense avesse copiato il manoscritto in questione, le due serie si sarebbero trovate intercalate senz'altro e senza visibile differenza".

37 An important example which unfortunately cannot be dealt with here concern the distributions of specific sets of illuminations in the Gospel manuscripts, e.g. in the illuminated Canon Tables containing the Ammonian sections and preceding the Gospels; see Marilyn Heldman, "Canon Tables", in: *EAe* vol. 1, 2003, 680a–681b; Bausi 2010b, for the specific case of the ancient Gospels of Abbā Garimā. See now Bausi 2015c for a critical edition of the Ethiopic version of the *Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus*. In general, see the wonderful article by Crawford 2015.

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sponding to the illuminations: it is this kind of phenomena that explains the alternation of different texts within the manuscripts of the *Miracles of Mary* (e.g. excerpts or the whole narrative of the *Maṣḥafa ledatā*, 'Book of the Birth [of Mary]', the *Maṣḥafa felsatā laMāryām* 'Book of the Assumption of Mary', readings from the *Senkessār*, 'Synaxarium', pieces from the *Gadla samāʿtāt*, 'Acts of the Martyrs', finally, also stories recalling some historical events and monastic and political controversies were included).[38]

It clearly appears that even though without a proper terminological garment, a great scholar like Cerulli had correctly understood and represented the immediate relationship between codicological phenomena and text and paintings transmission.

3 'Corpus' and '*corpo*'

3.1 'Corpus', '*corpo*', and 'corpus organizer'

In that sort of 'encyclopaedia of the composite and multiple-text codex' which is the wonderful volume of *Segno e Testo* of 2004 containing the proceedings of the 2003 Cassino conference, some words by Armando Petrucci—who by the way foresaid the title of the 'One-Volume Library' conference, as others seem to have happened to do, for having styled the manuscript Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 795, written around 799 for the archbishop Arno of Salisburg, as 'una vera e propria biblioteca in un solo libro' ('an actual one-volume library')—were very evocative. In his untitled 'Introduction' (a tentative title of which, as he

38 See Cerulli 1943, 71–72: 'Altro procedimento materiale di formazione ci è, a mio parere, suggerito da un altro manoscritto, ancora della collezione d'Abbadie: il CR 55 [= d'Abbadie 114]. In esso si hanno due serie di illustrazioni: una concernente i «Miracoli di Maria» veri e propri ed un'altra concernente vari episodi della vita della Vergine, della Passione o della vita di Santi. Queste illustrazioni sono state intercalate fra quelle dei «Miracoli di Maria»; ed abbiamo qui per le pitture l'inserzione di una serie nell'altra, analogamente a quanto abbiamo visto per i racconti. Suppongo che facilmente successivi amanuensi, in casi simili, siano stati tentati di inserire *a latere* della illustrazione anche un racconto corrispondente. E questo spiega come racconti estranei ai «Miracoli di Maria», si trovino inseriti in alcuni manoscritti: ad esempio quelli di S. Menas; dell'Annunziazione, dell'apparizione della Vergine con gli Arcangeli Michele e Gabriele; del Natale ecc. (cito, a bella posta, racconti corrispondenti alle illustrazioni inserite in CR 55). Dobbiamo quindi preliminarmente affermare che anche ragioni di ordine soltanto materiale hanno spinto ad inserire racconti entro altri racconti ovvero illustrazioni entro altre illustrazioni (e quindi racconti che le spiegano)'.

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says, could have been 'Il corpus e il suo corpo') Petrucci maintains that the core of the problem in the MTM or composite manuscripts is the relationship between the '*corpus*' of the texts and the material body ('*corpo*' in Italian) of its book container:[39]

> perché a me sembra che il nocciolo del problema [...] consista proprio nel rapporto, mutevole e a volte drammatico, fra *corpus* di testi diversi e corpo materiale del libro contenitore, che il codice miscellaneo comunque propone ed impone [...] i codicologi, rivolgono la loro attenzione soprattutto a quello che ho definito il 'corpo', cioè la struttura materiale dell'oggetto contenitore; gli altri, i filologi, altrettanto naturalmente al '*corpus*', cioè alla successione dei testi disposti nel medesimo contenitore.[40]

One should also never forget—as remarked by J. Peter Gumbert—that 'it is worthwhile to wonder, whenever one meets a miscellany, if there is a composite behind it'.[41] The same, and even more, is maintained by Petrucci, who states that (my translation) 'in the case of real *corpora* organized according to a precise plan of order and sequence of the textual components we are facing an involuntary planning of intertextual relationship, which can also become a permanent tradition in the course of time and prospect a sequence of reading corresponding to that of the texts'.[42] What I would add in this very case is that we should try to figure out which are the reasons underlying that precise organization of texts.

In this variation, not only of the sequence, but also of the actual content, the Ethiopian manuscript tradition—like other 'codex' cultures—has developed its own proper 'labels' to single out manuscripts and books for the usual purposes, most of all in order to identify and inventarise them. The fact is, however, that these labels will be rarely unambiguous, as it can be seen in the case of the

39 See Petrucci 2004, 3, 4.

40 Petrucci 2004, 3, 4.

41 See Gumbert 2004, 18, n. 3: 'One should not, on the other hand, overestimate the importance of the stratigraphy; the Medieval reader was rarely bothered by it. After all, a copy of a "composite" becomes a "miscellany" (and so it is worthwhile to wonder, whenever one meets a miscellany, if there is a composite behind it)'.

42 See Petrucci 2004, 6, 8: 'Nel caso di veri e propri *corpora* organizzati secondo un preciso piano di ordine e di successione dei singoli componenti testuali si è però di fronte ad una involontaria pianificazione dei rapporti infratestuali, che può trasformarsi in tradizione perpetuata nel tempo e prefigurante un ordine di lettura corrispondente a quello stesso dei testi [...] 'all'origine resta la necessità di un ordine e di una scansione dei testi', sia di quelli singoli nelle loro partizioni interne, sia dei *corpora* di più testi [...] La presenza nei codici miscellanei di dispositivi di identificazione e di separazione testuali [...] dimostra e documenta nei facitori del singolo libro una forte consapevolezza dell'identità di ciascuno dei testi registrati e anche, almeno in alcuni casi, di una consapevole programmazione della loro successione'.

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Taʾāmmera (or *Taʾāmmerāta*) *Māryām*, i.e. the *Miracles of Mary*, which is a 'label' good for any manuscripts containing mainly a collection of the *Miracles of Mary*. Other labels will pose similar problems (e.g. *Gādlā samāʿtāt*, i.e. *Acts of the Martyrs*, and *Gadla Qeddusān*, i.e. *Acts of the Saints*, etc.): they are good for manuscripts which actually differ from each other to the same and very large extent.

In this context it might be useful to interpret the manuscript as an actual 'corpus organizer',[43] where the possible contents implied by the 'projectual intention' (if any) of the copyist (or by those who stay behind him) finds a specific arrangement, i.e. an organization. This concept would naturally imply a more precise definition of *corpus*.[44]

3.2 'composite behind multiple-text manuscript': the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*

The case of the manuscripts of the *Gadla ḥawāryāt*, i.e. the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*,[45] a collection which normally occupies a codex by itself and includes a large *corpus* of apocryphal texts on the Apostles, can provide evidence to determine that (in Gumbert's words) 'there was a composite behind it', or probably better, in this very case: that the 'normal' and most complete form which the collection assumes in the most recent manuscript tradition, is the result of a process of subsequent 'extensions' of the supposed original 'codicological unit'. The latter, in this case as in many similar ones in the Ethiopian manuscript tradition, is to be supposed by the process of translation from an Arabic *Vorlage* which must have once taken place, and by its later expansion by the addition of new texts. That behind a 'miscellany' (i.e. a MTM in the terminology here adopted) there was once—and if we are lucky we can also know: 'when', even though this is not essential to the case in point—a composite manuscript, can be demonstrated by the 'stratigraphic' (structural and diachronic) analysis of the codices, as well as by the presence of paratextual elements, which allow to determine that the 'miscellaneous' (i.e. multiple-text) character is the result of an accumulation process.

43 See Bausi 2010a, at the example of the *Gādlā samāʿtāt* and *Gadla Qeddusān*, for which see Bausi 2002b and now also Bausi 2014b, 2015a, 2016a, 2016d; Pisani 2013, 2015a, 2015b; Brita 2015; Labadie 2015. See also for the Islamic domain the stimulating contribution by Hirschler 2012.

44 Very far from the present one is the notion of *corpus* as a useful artifical 'research tool' to investigate a particular genre or the like.

45 See Bausi 2002a, to which I refer for any detail; see in synthesis also Alessandro Bausi, "Gädlä ḥawaryat", in: *EAe* vol. 2, 2005, 1049b–1051a.

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The manuscripts of the *Gadla ḥawāryāt* are no less than 68, but certainly many more,[46] and on account of the distribution of the texts and the collation of a selection of manuscripts, I have tried to give a first classification of some of them on the basis of the available evidence: I. The oldest recension (maybe 13th century), is found in four manuscripts[47] and includes 28 different pieces (as well as an 'Introduction');[48] II. In the course of time other pieces were added to the original nucleus[49] (in particular, a second recension of the *Acts of Matthias and Andrew* and five new episodes of the *Acts of Thomas*[50])[51]; III. The *Acts of Peter and Acts of Paul* were integrated later into the collection (around the 17th century).[52] The same texts appear in three manuscripts where, additionally, the *Martyrdom of Philip* is wrongly attributed to Andrew.[53]

It appears that the addition took place as the 'extension' of a codicological unit by addition of an 'accretion'[54]: this is demonstrated on the one hand by a

46 Additional documentation from the Ethio-SPaRe collection has been now examined by Pisani 2015c, with further references: this has considerably increased the number of accessible manuscripts.

47 See manuscripts EMML no. 1767; BnF, Éthiopien 52; Berlin, Staatsbiliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Ṭānāsee 173 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 62 (microfilmed manuscript); BnF, d'Abbadie 58.

48 The pieces are the following: Preaching and Martyrdom of Peter; Martyrdom of Paul; Preaching and Martyrdom of Bartholomew; Acts and Martyrdom of Matthew; Martyrdom of Luke; Preaching and Martyrdom of Philip; Preaching of Andrew; Acts of Andrew and Bartholomew; Martyrdom of Andrew; Acts and Death of John; Martyrdom of James, son of Alphaeus; Acts and Martyrdom of Matthias; Acts and Martyrdom of James, son of Zebedee; Martyrdom of Mark; Preaching and Martyrdom of Thomas; Preaching of Judas Thaddeus; Preaching and Martyrdom of Simon Judas; Preaching and Martyrdom of James, brother of our Lord.

49 As in manuscripts Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. III, 4; EMML no. 1825; Berlin, Staatsbiliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Ṭānāsee 43 = Kebrān 43 (microfilmed manuscript); BL, Orient. 684 and 685; BnF, d'Abbadie 64.

50 The latter are also found isolated in some manuscripts: EMML no. 1963 and BnF d'Abbadie 91.

51 See manuscripts EMML nos 1482, 2406, 4442, 5409, 6839, 7604; BL, Orient. 678; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, Ṭānāsee 25 = Kebrān 25 (microfilmed manuscript); Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Aethiop. 234 and 296; Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Eth. 6.

52 See manuscripts BL, Orient. 683, 681, 679 and EMML nos 676 and 813.

53 See manuscripts BL, Orient. 680, 682 and 677.

54 As rightly noted once more by J. Peter Gumbert in his series of keen remarks, I am also aware that here, somehow, 'the terms created for the material codex are unduly extended to the textual model': yet, I remain convinced that there is a border land between codicology and textual analysis that it might be worthwhile to explore, with due caution, and reasonable expectations.

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colophon[55] presumably marking the end of the primitive collection, as well as by the early existence of manuscripts which contained only the texts preceding the colophon, and, on the other hand, by manuscripts containing only texts which follow it in the more recent manuscripts: i.e. there is evidence of independent circulation of a first and a second set of texts as independent codicological units. It is possible that the addition of new texts was also accompanied by the revision of others, as it seems the case for the *Martyrdom of Peter*: in all the manuscripts of the oldest recension, the final 'Speech of Peter on the cross' (usually considered a gnostic heterodox text) is missing, while it is found in some manuscripts starting from the 15th century onwards. It is interesting to note that in one manuscript at least (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ṭānāsee 173 = Dāgā Esṭifānos 62) the originally missing 'Speech of Peter on the cross' was integrated by 'enlarging' the codicological unit by insertion of an 'infix' consisting of one bifolium (folia 17–18).[56]

But how should we interpret this 'infix'? Is it the repair of a missing text, or is it the extension of an existing one? This is actually one of the not few cases where consideration of philological elements seems to be necessary to understand codicological phenomenology: in fact, a correct historical interpretation depends upon the actual intentions of the one who made the insertion, and his proper understanding. This understanding must in turn have taken place at the very concrete level of the 'text': it is only assuming the concept of text as something very concrete and very precise in someone's awareness at that time and in that precise place, that we can understand what 'materially' happened.[57]

3.3 Other cases of MTMs

What has been described here for the collection of the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* can be said for a number of other Ethiopic (so-called) 'works' in some cases (e.g. the *Qērellos*), or better *corpora* in others (e.g. hagiographic collections such as the *Acts of the martyrs* and the *Acts of the saints*, or the corpus of the royal

55 See Budge 1899, vii–viii, 305–306.

56 See Bausi 2002a, 97; this phenomenon had not been described in the catalogue, see Six 1999, 226–228.

57 It goes without saying that this is one out of the examples which demonstrate the relativeness of the hermeneutical paradigm of Cerquiglini's 1989 'éloge de la variante'. In this very case, we have a copyist who was very much determined to restore a precise uniformity, and did not accept *variation*: even more than that, he posed the problem of retracing and incorporating as carefully as possibile an existing tradition.

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chronicles, collected together by initiative of *dağğāzmāč* Ḫaylu around 1785, after *rās* Mikāʾēl had burnt the royal archives of Gondar), for which the hypothesis that 'a composite was behind it' cannot be excluded.

Like the *Acts of Peter* in the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, many cases could be mentioned where the process of material 'accretion' of a codicological unit is likely to have been accompanied by an additional process of revision: we do not have the 'composite' that 'was behind' our 'miscellany', but this might have been the case (immediately, or somewhere before in the transmissional chain), e.g. for the manuscript EMML no. 1843 from the influential monastery of Dabra Ḥayq Eṣṭifānos, a special *Sinodos* manuscript dating to the 14th/15th century, with some fragments of the *Qalēmenṭos*, i.e. the *Revelation of Peter to Clement* included, which was produced within the framework of the complex dynamics and interaction between reception of an ancient heritage and its revival and revision, mainly in order to acquire and produce documents on controversial questions debated at the time in Ethiopia (one for all, the mandatory character of sabbath observance, etc.).[58]

A similar case is represented by a MTM of partially similar contents, the manuscript Jerusalem, Library of the Patriarchate of the Ethiopian Orthodox Patriarchate, JE 300 E.[59] This manuscript contains four main sections: (1) folia 4r–20r: 'Excerpts from Philo of Carpasia's commentary on the Song of Songs. It includes the introduction and the commentary up to Cant. 1:14. Incomplete at the beginning'; (2) folia 20r–43r: 'Anecdotes and sayings of the Desert Fathers'; (3) folia 44r–50r: 'Passages from the gospels with commentary of Church Fathers'; (4) folia 50r–116v: 'Excerpts on Christian conduct, mostly from canonical and apocryphal sources'.

Section (1) appears to be the remain of an ancient Ethiopic version (probably of Aksumite age) of a commentary of Philo of Carpasia on the Song of Songs.[60]

58 See Bausi 2009b, 298, n. 17.

59 See Isaac 1987, 67, footnote, dating it to the 14th/15th century; Macomber 1996, n.p., s.v. "MS JE 300 E", which provides a very much detailed, yet not exhaustive, description of the manuscript; see also Tedros 2008, who ignores Macomber 1996; more details are provided in Bausi 2016f.

60 See Tedros 2008, 2014; new still unpublished manuscript evidence on the commentary on the Song of Songs from a 15th-century manuscript was presented by Jan Retsö at the 19th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Warsaw, 24–28 August 2015, see *19th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies. Abstracts*, Warsaw 2015, 168–169. On Philo of Carpasia' commentary on Paul's Epistles, known as *Fēlon Fil(e)gos*, or *Fēlon Fēlgos*, see also Masarat Sebḫat Laʾab, *Semʿā ṣedq. Beḥērāwi baṭentāwyān yaʾortodoks bēta krestiyān mamherān fellagā* ('Indigenous

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Section (4) is in fact an extremely fragmented assemblage of small excerpts from various pseudo-apostolical writings of various origin and date, namely: the *Qalēmenṭos*, the *Didascalia*, the *Testament of Our Lord in Galilee*, the *Sinodos*[61], as well as from apocryphal writings, such as the *Book of Jubilees*[62], and other as yet unidentified texts.

The context of such MTMs is very peculiar. Restructuring of knowledge following newly resumed relationships with the Patriarchate of Alexandria in the 13th and 14th century gave the main impulse to the emergence of manuscripts conceived as 'corpus organizers' and arranged according to varying, not yet clearly defined criteria, ranging from literary affinity and liturgical reading needs, to royal and nobiliary patronage.[63] Far from being conceived as an autonomous and well defined witness of texts (as it would appear from a philological perspective), each of these 'corpus organizers' acquired its proper significance only in mutual relationship to others, in an ideal and implicit, yet very material and concrete, manuscript-based, knowledge-organizing evolving attempt. The enterprise was carried out particularly in some monastic center, e.g. Dabra Ḥayq Esṭifānos. Conflicting outcomes—resulting in intersections and overlappings of discrete components—can still be appreciated in the Ethiopian Middle Ages (13th–15th century), while from the 16th and especially the 17th century onwards a process of standardization and repetition progressively took over.

3.4 The 'composite that was behind' (or not) and the 'archetype'

The Florence manuscript of the *Sinodos* in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Orientale 148 I have quoted above, is interesting also because it was copied twice in the course of time, the second time by Johann Michael Wansleben (1635–1679), who also compared and collated it with a famous manuscript then in the Borgia collection in Rome, now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. Aethiop. 2, which in turn was also examined and utilized by Hiob Ludolf (1624–1704), who extensively edited some excerpts of it including them in his works. The 'paratextual' elements

witness for the Truth: According to the Ancient Orthodox Church Fathers'), Addis Ababā, 1951 Ethiopian calendar [1958/1959 CE], quoted by Bliese 2011, xxxix.

61 See Alessandro Bausi, "Didəsqəlya", in: *EAe* vol. 2, 2005, 154a–155b; "Qälemənṭos", in: *EAe* vol. 4, 2010, 251b–253b; "Senodos", *ibid.*, 623a–625a; "Testamentum Domini in Galilee", *ibid.*, 928b–929b.

62 See James C. Vanderkam, "Jubilees, Book of", in: *EAe* vol. 3, 2007, 303ab.

63 For a first overview of such practices troughout Ethiopian history, see Bausi 2013a.

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to be found in both codices, as in other codices of the so-called *Sinodos*, tell something on the genesis of the canonico-liturgical collection: an index of a Melchite canonico-liturgical collection which is present in both, and an index of a Coptic collection which is present only in the Borgia manuscript probably show that a component of the present arrangement of many manuscripts of the *Sinodos* (corresponding in contents to a Melchite plus a Coptic collection) is actually the result of a merging.[64]

Yet to determine if this (as also in the former case) was materially due to the codicological merging in a 'composite' or from the copying from two or more distinct volumes or sources, can be only corroborated by paratextual elements or by other evidence, in the absence of which we should speak of 'the manuscript that was behind'—in the traditional way—as of an indeterminate antecedent, i.e. ultimately of an 'archetype'. And it cannot be excluded that the application of rigorous codicological concepts might help to better use this concept too—which is so problematic in turn.[65].

We should never forget, however, that the already evoked Karl Lachmann, the presumed father of the 'abstract' text-critical philology, so often criticized and so much abhorred by the 'new philologists', was highly admired by his contemporaries for the efforts he produced in reconstructing a very concrete and material codex. In Sebastiano Timpanaro's own words:

> Lachmann's ability to calculate the number of lines of every page of the archetype—and consequently the number of pages too—was based on the length of certain passages that were transposed or damaged. It was above all this reconstruction that impressed his contemporaries: 'And where is this manuscript described with such precision? It was destroyed or lost; and yet there is not a single point in the description that is not demonstrated with almost mathematical certainty'. Nowadays this kind of certainty has been quite shaken: doubts have arisen regarding the exact number of the pages and the script of the archetype; above all, scholars have come to realize that they cannot use the reconstruction of the archetype for practical purposes (that is, to justify transpositions of whole passages) as hastily as Lachmann supposed. All the same, the reconstruction remains valid in its essentials and is a fine proof of Lachmann's acumen.[66]

64 See Bausi 1991, 10–14; 1992, 32–35; 1995, I, 1–8 (text); 2003, 35–39.

65 See on the general problem of the archetype, at least, Grassi 1961, 150–151; Brambilla Ageno 1975; Irigoin 1977; Kleinlogel 1979; Reeve 1986; Flores 1998, 47–98; Canfora 1999; Timpanaro 2005, *passim*; Trovato 2005; Berschin 2007; and now especially Trovato 2014, 63–67, and index s.v. For the specific case of the first *Vorlage* in a transmissional and translation chain, where in turn each 'hyparchetpye' ('"heads" of branches of the stemma', as J. Peter Gumbert rightly suggests) plays at the same time the role of archetype of a textual tradition of its own, I wonder whether the term of 'super-archetype' could be proposed.

66 Timpanaro 2005, 107–108.

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4 An exceptional MTM

This contribution ends with the concise presentation of a MTM containing a collection of canonical liturgical character. It contains *inter alia* new portions of a *History of the Alexandrian Episcopate*, only partially known so far, being attested in later texts and in Latin excerpts preserved in the manuscript Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Codex Veronensis LX (58).[67]

4.1 The discovery of an exceptional Ethiopic manuscript

Everything started in 1999, when I was in Ethiopia for research and met in Addis Ababa Jacques Mercier, then director of the European Union-funded research project 'Safeguarding Religious Treasures of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church'. During his extensive field trips in Ethiopia, especially in the northern highlands of Tegrāy, Mercier had come across and photographed—among several hundreds of others—a couple of particularly ancient manuscripts: a not better defined canonical liturgical collection and a manuscript of the Old Testament. Despite their palaeographical interest, in his capacity of art historian and anthropologist, he was not personally particularly interested in them, but he immediately realized their importance. A summary description and an evaluation of the contents, however, was required for the catalogue he was going to prepare as a formal charge he had to carry out for his project. He asked me therefore to take care of the textual analysis of the two manuscripts—I had already some experience of canonical liturgical texts—no other analysis than the textual one being possible in the given conditions.

I received the whole set of microfilms of the two manuscripts in the summer of 1999—except the last microfilm (the fourth out of five) of the canonical liturgical collection, that got lost in Italy during one of Mercier's stays in Florence. In the meanwhile, the outbreak of the armed conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia in 1998-2000 put at risk and prevented access to the site where the manuscripts were kept, very near to the border, and consequently the manuscript collection had been moved to a different place. The strict condition for my cooperation was that I should not use the manuscripts in any publication whatsoever.

67 See most recent overview of the whole question in Bausi / Camplani 2013; also Bausi 2015d, 2015e, 2016d.

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In about one month of day and night work in the same summer of 1999 I transcribed and identified all the texts of the biblical manuscript—an easy task—and also those of the canonical liturgical manuscript—a much more difficult task, since the most important texts of the latter were unknown in Ethiopic, and a couple of them partially unknown also in other languages. The missing microfilm was replaced with a new set of corresponding pictures by Mercier a couple of years later, confirming my previous identifications.

A few years later in 2006, Antonella Brita[68] was able to exactly locate and to visit the site where the manuscripts were kept and to acquire new documentation, on the basis of which I was able to proceed to publish some texts. Last but not least, in 2010 a field trip of the Ethio-SPaRe Project[69] reached again—among several others—also the site where the aforementioned manuscripts are kept. More than that, the Ethio-SPaRe expedition was also able to discover two additional dismembered leaves belonging to the canonical liturgical manuscript which were not included in the previous sets of pictures and which filled up two gaps in the sequence of folia and texts, to acquire digital pictures of high professional quality of this manuscript, and to arrange the manuscripts for the subsequent restoration.[70]

68 At the time a PhD student of mine from the University of Naples 'L'Orientale'. She followed some suggestions resulting from my correspondence with Mercier, who was relatively generous with me.

69 Led by Denis Nosnitsin, with the participation of Stéphane Ancel and Vitagrazia Pisani.

70 The restoration was finally carried out in May–June 2012 by Marco Di Bella and Nikolas Sarris. For detail on the site, see Nosnitsin 2013a, 3–8. To the visits I have mentioned here, others are certainly to be added: Yaqob Beyene too, of the University of Naples 'L'Orientale', visited on more occasions the site, but was not able to get any sort of documentation. Visits have also been paid by various other researchers, e.g. Ewa Balicka Witakowska and Michael Gervers, who were mainly interested in paintings and art history, and have therefore almost completely disregarded the texts, even though few pages from nearby manuscripts are available on their web site 'Mäzgäbä-Səəlat – Treasury of Ethiopian Images'. More recently, a research team of the Centre Français d'Études Éthiopiennes, as it appears, has also visited the site, with which results nobody knows. This usefully shows that what Latinist Reeve 2000, 197, stated, i.e. that 'the last thing that many historians or codicologists [I would add: art historians] study about a manuscript is its text', widely applies: with the dramatic consequence of forgetting that almost always manuscripts were produced to carry a text, and that without text analysis we risk to understand not much.

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4.2 Textual contents, place and role of the manuscript

Coming to the manuscript of the canonical liturgical collection, it dates from the 13th century at the latest or even earlier, although a precise dating is prevented by the absence either of a colophon[71] or contemporary notes as well as by that of decisive palaeographic parallels—yet the few available point to that direction. It is probably the oldest non-biblical Ethiopic manuscript known so far. Apart from very few folia, the manuscript is well preserved and legible. The original sequence of the folia, however, has been completely upset. Moreover, some folia (the number of which cannot be exactly reckoned) have been lost and few portions of some texts are missing.

The manuscript contains in its present form a collection of thirty-six pieces of various length and mainly consisting of patristic writings, liturgical and canonical texts in the Ethiopic version. Although different in terms of content, it closely resembles the so-called *Sinodos*, the very influential collection of normative and liturgical texts translated from Arabic in the 13th/14th century, which is still in use and much revered in the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawāḥedo Church.

The bulk of Ethiopic canonical and liturgical texts known to present, the *Sinodos* included, was believed to derive, through complicated translational passages, from medieval and late Arabic textual recensions. Only a few liturgical texts, although problematically mixed with Arabic-based later ones, were supposed to be ancient and Greek-based. The new manuscript contributes totally new evidence and clearly belongs in the oldest known layer of early Christian (in general and not only in terms of Ethiopian) canon law and liturgy.

No collection comparable to that of the new Ethiopic manuscript has been preserved either in Greek, Coptic or Arabic. In terms of the individual texts that it contains, this manuscript bears witness to some previously unknown Ethiopic pieces that were translated during the Aksumite literary period (4th to 7th century CE) from Greek originals dating from the 4th to the second half of the 5th century. As witness to a collection, it seems to depend upon sources of Egyptian origin and betrays perusal of documents directly emanating from Alexandrian archives. In terms of dating, this collection was probably arranged after the middle of the 5th and probably no later than the first half of the 6th century. In view of these considerations, I have styled it the *Aksumite collection*[72].

71 For the note of *explicit*, see now Bausi 2016b, 240, and *ibid.* Fig. 2.

72 See Bausi 2003, 2006a, 2006b, 2009b, 2011b, 2012b, 2013b, 2014a, 60–64, 2015d, 2015e, 2016c, 2016d, with further references; the research on the *Aksumite Collection*, on the *History of the Alexandrian Episcopate* in particular, has been conducted for years now in collaboration with Alberto

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The manuscript preserves an almost complete set of the conciliar canons of the *Collectio Antiochena*, to which the canons of the councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon (the latter followed by their patristic refutation) have also been added. Apart from the historical section, probably the most impressive text is a new Ethiopic version of the lost Greek *Apostolic Tradition*, the most important Christian canonical liturgical text. The text was previously known from the fragmentary Latin (part of the *Veronese Collection*, which is preserved in the manuscript Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. Veronensis LV [53]) and later oriental versions, including a version in the *Sinodos*, which was already considered an important witness for reconstructing the Greek original. The present manuscript, however, preserves an independent translation that is parallel to the Latin, and much older and more archaic than the previously known oriental versions. It promises to contribute to a better understanding of a much debated text the reconstruction of which from the various versions that survive has challenged scholars for more than a century.[73]

Probably prefixed to the collection as a sort of introduction, the manuscript also contains a text (mutilated in some parts) of a *History of the Alexandrian Episcopate*, which is exceptional from two points of view. First, no Ethiopic text dating from Aksumite period and of intentionally historical character was known so far (except for the epigraphical texts written at the initiative of the Aksumite kings); second, the historical fragments may be identified as belonging to a lost Greek *History of the Alexandrian Episcopate* (not to be confused with the later Copto-Arabic *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*), which scholars (starting from Tito Orlandi onwards[74]) have traced in later texts, the most important of which are Latin excerpts (in the manuscript Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. Veronensis LX [58]). The manuscript provides by far the most important evidence for reconstructing the original text, for long passages of which it is the unique witness. The anonymous author of this *History* had access and perused materials drawn from the Alexandrian archives and some documents have been incorporated into the narrative text. The narrative starts with the founding by Saint Mark and the early bishops of the Alexandrian see and proceeds up to the events of the episcopate of Peter and his immediate successors, arriving as far as the outbreak of the so-called 'Melitian schism', and the story of Arius the priest. Details and so far unknown lists of bishops and respective dioceses recorded for the episcopates

Camplani, who has extensively contributed, see Camplani 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011a, 2011b, 2015; see also Voicu 2015.

73 See Bausi 2009b, 2011b.

74 See Camplani 2011b, 2015, 92–102.

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of Maximus (264–282), Theonas (282–300) and Peter (300–311) provide unparalleled documents for the history of early Christian Egyptian institutions. Furthermore, quotations from this *History* surviving in few later Ethiopic texts are given as from the *Synodicon of the Law*, which is probably the name under which the collection was known until the 15th century in the Ethiopian literary tradition.

As it appears from the salient features I have shortly listed here, this exceptional MTM will offer material for research and reflection on many aspects—including that of the Ethiopian 'one-volume libraries'—for years to come.

5 As a conclusion

From the few examples here dealt with, the phenomenon, not only of the MTM, but also of the composite manuscript, emerges as a non-exceptional one, yet on the contrary, a relative physiological aspect of the Ethiopian manuscript culture. This practice appears on the one hand to correspond to some extent to far premises of social and economical character that were common in the late antique and medieval context of the Mediterranean (Byzantine) civilization of the Christian Orient, of which Ethiopia was a component for centuries; on the other hand—as appears throughout the rich medieval and premodern manuscript evidence that has survived—it betrays the specific attitude of Ethiopian Christian culture towards absorption, expansion, and re-creation of a given matter.[75] With respect to this, the multi-layered facet of the codex has been interpreted—not only of course, but also, in Ethiopia—as an appropriate and comfortable repository to documentary texts, while its modular facet has often served as a formidable booster for the development of textual and art-historical production.

75 See Bausi 2012a, where reprints essays by various authors—some of them translated for the first time—illustrate this phenomenon, that is not only of literary character.

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Fig. 1: Tegrāy, Gulo Makadā, ʿAddiqaḥarsi Ṭarāqliṭos, manuscript Ethio-SPaRe AP-035. *Miracles of Mary*. Folia 4v–5r.

Fig. 2: Tegrāy, Gulo Makadā, ʿAddiqaḥarsi Ṭarāqliṭos, manuscript Ethio-SPaRe AP-035. *Miracles of Mary*. Folia 8v–9r.

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Fig. 3: Tegrāy, Gulo Makadā, ʿAddiqaḥarsi Ṭarāqliṭos, manuscript Ethio-SPaRe AP-035. *Miracles of Mary*. Folia 11v–12r.

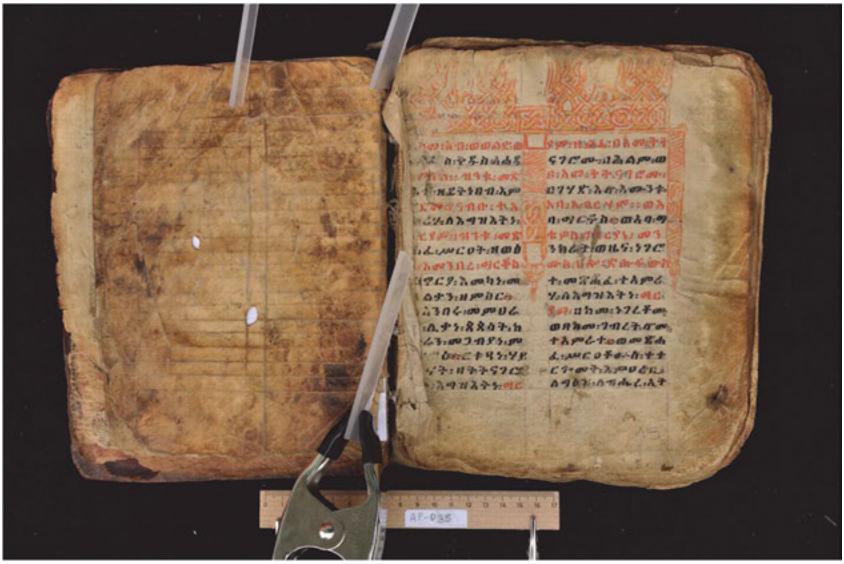

Fig. 4: Tegrāy, Gulo Makadā, ʿAddiqaḥarsi Ṭarāqliṭos, manuscript Ethio-SPaRe AP-035. *Miracles of Mary*. Folia 14v–15r.

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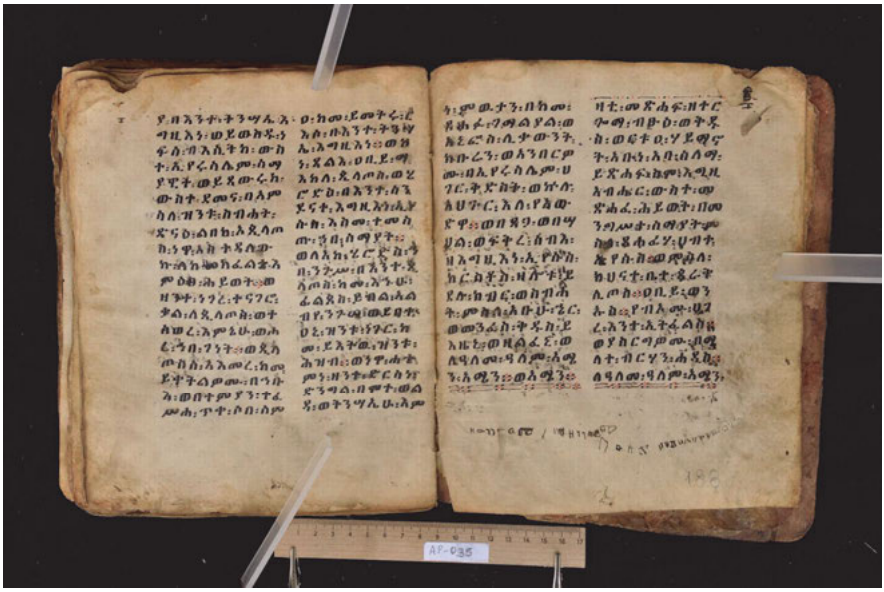

Fig. 5: Tegrāy, Gulo Makadā, ʿAddiqaḥarsi Ṭarāqliṭos, manuscript Ethio-SPaRe AP-035. *Miracles of Mary*. Folia 187v–188r.

Fig. 6: Tegrāy, Gulo Makadā, Dabra Zayt, manuscript Ethio-SPaRe DZ-014. *Miracles of Mary*. Folia 2v–3r.

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Fig. 7: Tegrāy, Gulo Makadā, Dabra Zayt, manuscript Ethio-SPaRe DZ-014. *Miracles of Mary*. Folia 8v–9r.

Fig. 8: Tegrāy, Gulo Makadā, ʿUrā Qirqos, manuscript Ethio-SPaRe UM-014. *Miracles of Mary*. Folia 3v–4r.

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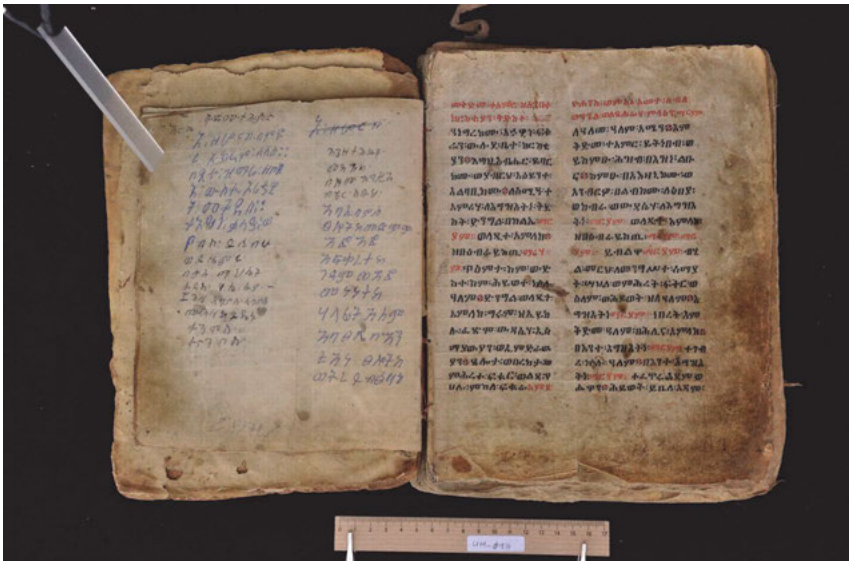

Fig. 9: Tegrāy, Gulo Makadā, ʿUrā Qirqos, manuscript Ethio-SPaRe UM-014. *Miracles of Mary*. Folia 10v–11r.

Fig. 10: Tegrāy, Gulo Makadā, ʿUrā Qirqos, manuscript Ethio-SPaRe UM-014. *Miracles of Mary*. Folia 160v–161r.

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Fig. 11: Tegrāy, Gulo Makadā, ʿUrā Qirqos, manuscript Ethio-SPaRe UM-042. *Miracles of Mary*. Folia 125v–126r.

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Alessandro Gori

Some Observations on Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts in the Islamic Tradition of the Horn of Africa

1 Islamic manuscript culture in the Horn of Africa: General remarks

Our knowledge of the Islamic manuscript tradition of the Horn of Africa (Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Djibouti) is scarce. For various historical and cultural reasons, research on Muslim civilization in this region has been neglected for a long time. Most of the scholars working on North-eastern Africa – with few exceptions such as the Italian Enrico Cerulli[1] – devoted their attention to Christian Ethiopia or to the unwritten cultures of the local peoples (perceived and qualified as purely 'African'), and did not consider Islam as a field of research. On the other hand, scholars of Islam completely ignored the existence of a Muslim culture in this area, considering it too peripheral to be interesting. It took until the late 20th century that the extent of Islam's proliferation and the fact that it had been spreading in this area for decades was acknowledged. In consequence, it is a recent development that Islam in the Horn of Africa has become an independent subject of scholarly research, with hard efforts being made to compensate for the delay.[2]

As in the rest of the Muslim world, Islamic culture in the Horn of Africa has a written dimension which is evident in active text production and also in manuscript production. However, the level of research on this material corresponds to the general level of study of the Islamic presence in this area. Even though it is likely that there are thousands of Islamic manuscripts which have their origin in this region, only a few hundreds have been catalogued in any way. Palaeographic and codicological analysis of this material is practically non-existent. Most of the

The following contribution benefits from the data collected in the framework of the project 'Islam in the Horn of Africa: a Comparative Literary Approach' generously supported by the European Research Council (Advanced Grant 322849, for the period 2013–2018), of which I am the Principal Investigator.

1 On the multifaceted and controversial orientalist Cerulli from Italy see Ricci 1988.
2 See Hussein Ahmed 2009 and 2010.

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known manuscripts are relatively recent (18th century) or even very recent (19th and 20th centuries), and often no undisputable indication is available as to the ultimate origin of some codices which were found in Ethiopia, but possibly copied elsewhere. The language of the codices is mostly Arabic, but some ʻajami and multi-lingual manuscripts do exist.[3]

Some small collections of Islamic manuscripts from the Horn of Africa are stored in Europe: at the Vatican Library (nine catalogued manuscripts from Ethiopia; five from Somalia);[4] at the Civic Library of Pavia (twelve catalogued manuscripts from Harar, Ethiopia);[5] at the Archiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (22 catalogued manuscripts from Ethiopia, some of them in the Səlṭi language)[6]; at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (21 catalogued manuscripts from Harar);[7] at the library of the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts Sciences (eight manuscripts from various regions of Ethiopia briefly described by Dobronravin).[8] Some scattered Ethiopian or Somali Arabic manuscripts may also be preserved in libraries in London and Paris.[9]

The vast majority of manuscript material has thus remained in Ethiopia. The collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) at the University of Addis Ababa, housing 303 Islamic manuscripts in Arabic, Harari and Oromo, is probably

3 For a first general assessment of the entire field see Gori 2007a. The article of the late Hussein Ahmed (2008) is written from a historian's perspective and expresses a perception, which is praiseworthy in its clarity, of the decisive role that philology should play in the reconstruction of the Ethiopian (Islamic) past.

4 Levi Della Vida 1965, 150–159 (Vat.Ar. 1791, 1792, 1793 1796, 1799 from Ethiopia, Vat.Ar.1788, 1789, 1790, 1794, 1795 from Somalia), Raineri 2004, 232–228 (Cerulli Etiopici 325, 326, 327, 328: This last manuscript contains an Oromo text in praise of the Prophet, not a Harari text as surmised by the cataloguer).

5 Traini 1974. The collection kept in Pavia belonged to the famous engineer Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti (1855–1926), who visited Harar in 1888–1889 (Gori 2009). Three more manuscripts (two in Harari and one in Arabic) from the Horn of Africa can be found in the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei in Rome in the collection of Carlo Conti Rossini (Strelcyn 1976, 197–198, 293–294, 322).

6 See the list in Wagner 1997, 198. The manuscripts belonged to the German orientalist and diplomat Hans Martin Schlobies (1904–1950). An ʻajami Amharic text of collection (NL Schlobies 84a = Wagner 52) has been analyzed by Gori 2007b.

7 Listed in Wagner 1997, 197. The collection is basically composed of the manuscripts which Wagner acquired in Harar during his many stays in Ethiopia.

8 Dobronravin 2006. The collection, which is still almost unknown, includes several manuscripts acquired in Harar and in the Oromo region by the famous Russian poet and traveler Nikolaj Gumilev in 1910–1911 and 1913 (see also Gori 2008).

9 Andrzejewski-Lewis 1994, for a collection of 22 items coming from Somaliland. Other Northeastern African manuscripts diffusely spread over French libraries are listed in Gori 2007a, 745–747.

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the best known repository of Muslim codices. The collection was cursorily described at the end of the 1960s[10], and it took until 2009 for it to eventually be digitized in the context of the project *Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project*, (EMIP), which was headed by Professor Steven Delamarter (George Fox University, Portland, Oregon) and had a broad scope. A handlist of the collection was published in 2014 together with a pioneering description of the main codicological features of codices.[11] The EMIP has also succeeded in obtaining the authorization to fully digitize the manuscript material in possession of ʻAbdallāh Šarīf, a local learned man in Harar, who owns the largest manuscript collection there. However, it is unknown how many units his collection comprises (surely, no less than 436), and how many other private collections are located in that area.[12]

The existence of other collections in the country is known, but the manuscripts remain practically untouched in private hands where improper storage and the lack of any preservation policy often place them at risk.[13] Manuscripts are frequently considered by their owners to be devoid of any intrinsic value and are deemed no more than a simple tool to transmit the texts. Thus, they are not treated properly and remain unprotected against the damaging effects of time, dust, insects and weather conditions. State libraries are of course more aware of the necessity of proper preservation and storage practice, but unfortunately they often lack the logistic and technological infrastructure to implement the appropriate measures.

Searching for unexplored collections of manuscripts in Ethiopia, digitizing and cataloguing already located collections are the main tasks for which the very few scholars of this field are requested.

Moreover, in the USA *EMIP* has digitized some thirty Arabic Ethiopian manuscripts acquired by a private collector.

The research into this newly available material will certainly increase our knowledge of Islam in Ethiopia in general, and of the manuscript tradition in particular; this paper strongly features the knowledge I have gained from my preliminary study of these witnesses.

10 See a very short survey in Jomier 1967.

11 Gori 2014. The codicological analysis of the manuscripts was conducted by Dr Anne Regourd (in Gori 2014: xlvii–xcii); the background of the EMIP project is described by Steve Delamarter in Gori 2014: xxix–xxxiii.

12 The collection of ʻAbdallāh Šarīf is now being analyzed by Dr Anne Regourd in the framework of the above mentioned project IslHornAfr.

13 In a mission carried out in the area of Ǧimma and Wälqite (Western Ethiopia) in December 2014 for the project IslHornAfr, Dr Sara Fani and Dr Michele Petrone have digitized four previously unstudied collections of Islamic manuscripts.

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2 Composite manuscripts and MTMs in the manuscript tradition of the Horn of Africa: Some observations

It has become clear that composite and multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) are very frequent in the Ethiopian Islamic tradition. In particular, this applies to those containing liturgical and teaching texts.

Obviously, it would be premature to believe that it is possible to provide a comprehensive analysis of such manuscripts at this point. Thus, the following constitutes no more than a tentative approach to the topic. Further research may confirm or dismiss the ideas that will be outlined in this article.

Composite manuscripts and MTMs of Islamic Ethiopia can be classified into the following general categories:

1. Composite manuscripts (one codex consisting of several codicological units)
2. MTMs
2a. Texts which address the same topic or related subjects
2b. 'Liturgical' collections

(1) The first category comprises conglomerates, which were compiled from several manuscripts of different origin, shape and dimension and were then bound together.

Even though this kind of codices among the Islamic manuscripts from the Horn of Africa were produced locally, the majority of them emerged due to European influence. Travellers and adventurers, scholars of this research area, colonial officials and military administrators selected texts which they deemed interesting. They were then copied into notebooks or even on to loose sheets of paper. After arriving in Europe, these scattered items were eventually bound or rebound together.

This means of production of codices is widely documented, not only throughout Sub-Saharan Africa[14], but also in the Horn of Africa. There it has been docu-

14 See for example the items of the recently catalogued collection of George de Gironcourt at the Institut de France in Paris (Nobili 2013).

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mented for the Islamic tradition and also for a part of the Ethiopian Christian tradition.[15] One might call it *faute de mieux*, a 'colonial' way of creating manuscripts. These manuscripts were mainly produced for Europeans, who were apparently the only true active catalysts of the writing process, and the extent to which they reflect a genuine local tradition prevalent among the intellectual elite before the arrival of these foreigners merits a discussion.

It can be surmised that at least some of these 'colonial' manuscripts contain *specimina* of texts which were in circulation locally and might otherwise have remained largely unknown. Nevertheless, it is a matter of fact that the way the texts were put on paper and were assembled is absolutely peculiar to the colonial period and surely differs from what we know the local tradition is.

It is likely that various important theological and historical manuscripts were frequently collected and then copied, or even abridged and merged, by local copyists in a specific way as to satisfy the requests, or fulfil the exigencies, of an influential European.

Furthermore, it is actually doubtful that Ethiopian and Somali scholars would ever have put certain parts of their traditional knowledge into writing instead of preserving them orally, which is more customary (e.g. tribal genealogies, traditional poetry, corpora of judicial practices and administration, proverbs, wisdom and gnomic literature). It is thanks to this foreign impulse that we have manuscripts on the local tribal poetry in Somalia, the clan structure of many human groups, the history of villages or towns, and the traditional healing practices.

Most of the sources that we use for studying 'customary law' were first put into writing on request of colonial administrators, and many local legal practices were codified (e.g. in Arabic where they concerned Muslim peoples) due to European influence (i.e. in the Horn of Africa, Italian influence) and on behalf of colonial offices.

Finally, external European influence was surely decisive in the creation of many codices: bindings were made randomly, and unrelated manuscripts were

15 See for example the Gəʿəz codices of the Conti Rossini Collection at the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei in Rome (Strelcyn 1976, esp. ix–x) produced for the Italian scholars while he was working for the colonial administration in Eritrea. At the National Library in Paris 'pre-colonial' Ethiopic manuscripts compose the Mondon Vidailhet (Chaîne 1913) and d'Abbadie collections (d'Abbadie 1849, Chaîne 1912, Conti Rossini 1914). The Griaule collection of Ethiopic manuscripts also at the National Library in Paris is made up of items produced for the members of the Dakar-Djibouti expedition in 1931–1933 (Strelcyn 1954).

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put together by chance or without any other reason than to prevent loss or dispersion.

Of course, these are not sufficient reasons to discharge all this material and to diminish its textual and documental value. In fact, these 'colonial' manuscripts have preserved an impressive amount of information and have transmitted a significant amount of texts, which could otherwise have been lost. Moreover, they testify the capability of the local African intelligentsia to skilfully use writing and to adapt it to external inputs and influences.

Enrico Cerulli's collection at the Vatican Library contains good examples of 'colonial' composites. Acting as a colonial administrator of high rank, the great Italian orientalist had the opportunity to spend extensive periods in Ethiopia and Somalia, during which he asked (or, more probably, ordered) local copyists to write down Arabic, Harari, Oromo and Somali texts. He selected texts which he considered important for his research on the history and culture of the Muslims of the Horn and most were subsequently published in a series of articles and books which still form the basis of our knowledge of Islam in Ethiopia.[16] The original manuscripts were then donated by Cerulli to the Vatican Library, where they were eventually catalogued by Giorgio Levi Della Vida.[17]

Vat.Ar. 1788, 1789, 1790, and 1796 are typical representatives of this 'colonial' codex. The texts were mostly copied on ruled foolscap folios or loose sheets used in the colonial administration. The common use of the official paper of the colonial administration proves that the Italian colonial power was directly involved in the production of such manuscripts. In some cases, the sheets are only held together by a simple cover, which is also the only connecting element in absence of any proper binding. Chronographies, hagiographies, genealogical documents, prayers and litanies used in the mystical brotherhoods form the heterogeneous cluster of writings can be found in these codices.

Vat.Ar. 1788, for example, is a random collection of texts of different mystical brotherhoods of the Horn contained in a folder. We thus have a hagiography of 'Alī Muḥammad Maye of Merka, a much renowned saint of the Aḥmadiyya brotherhood,[18] followed by a selection of mystical poetry of learned men who were active members of the Qādiriyya and Ṣāliḥiyya brotherhoods in Ethiopia and Somalia. No rationale can be detected in the collection except from the simple fact that all the

16 See Cerulli 1971 for his main articles and contributions on Ethiopian Islam.

17 Levi Della Vida 1965, 150–59.

18 This text was edited in Gori 2003, 195–394.

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texts are in some way related to the same cultural milieu, i.e. Somali Islamic mystical groups.[19]

(2) As described above, the MTMs category comprises two distinct collections:
2a. Texts which deal with the same topic or with related subjects;
2b. 'Liturgical' collections.

(2a) Local codices containing selected texts dealing with the same topic or with related subjects (i.e. Arabic grammar and logic, law and theology, mysticism and magic). Generally, the criterion for the choice of the texts is easily recognizable. The product is intended for teaching and learning the respective branches of the traditional Islamic education. This kind of codex seems to be the most widespread among Ethiopian Islamic manuscripts.

The traditional Islamic higher education in the Muslim areas of the Horn is based on a relatively structured curriculum comprising the following: 1) Arabic grammar and syntax (*ṣirf*, *naḥw*); 2) the basic elements of the creed (*'aqīda*) and of theology; 2) the principles of law (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), and 4) mysticism (*taṣawwuf*). Logic (*manṭiq*) is also part of the syllabus and is taught as a subsidiary subject of grammar and *'aqīda*.[20]

In all these branches of traditional learning, teachers and their pupils have recourse to a quite significant set of handbooks. The 'Poem of the one thousand verses' (*Alfiyya*) by Ibn Mālik (d. 1274) is a well-known manual of Arabic grammar.[21] Another famous handbook for grammar is the *al-Tuḥfa al-wardiyya* ('The present of Ibn al-Wardī') by Ibn al-Wardī (d. 1349). It is a short poem on Arabic grammar which is well-known in the Islamic world.[22]

The *Muqaddimat Bā Faḍl*, also called *al-Muqaddima al-ḥaḍramiyya fī fiqh al-sāda al-šāfi'iyya* is also very widespread. It is a concise handbook of law according to the school of law of al-Šāfi'ī written by the Yemenite scholar 'Abdallāh Bā Faḍl al-Ḥaḍramī (probably fl. 16th century). This manual designed for students and common faithful is also very widespread on the Swahili coast and among Indonesian *šāfi'ī*-s.[23] Al-Laqānī's (d. 1631) *Ǧahwarat al-tawḥīd* ('The Essence of

19 See the detailed description in Levi Della Vida, 1965, 146–47.
20 On the general curriculum of the Islamic traditional educational institutions in Wällo, see Hussein Ahmed 1998; on the teaching of Arabic grammar among Ethiopian Muslims see Gori 2009.
21 See GAL I, 298–300, S I, 521–27.
22 See GAL II, 140, S II, 174.
23 See Becker 1911; van Bruinessen 1990.

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monotheism'), a much reputed poem on the basic tenets of the Islamic faith, is a handbook for theology.[24] Nowadays, all these texts are among the most common works used in Ethiopian Islamic educational institutions. The circulation of these texts was assured by manuscript tradition until printed books started being used.

In the manuscript collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Ababa, I found several examples of such MTMs which had been conceived as handbooks. It is obvious that the analysis of these codices is of crucial importance for understanding the intellectual landscape in which the Ethiopian Islamic intelligentsia acted. This is to be illustrated by the following examples:

Fig. 1: IES 00274 (Harar 23) Commentary on the *al-Tuḥfa al-wardiyya*. Folia 5v–6r.

IES 274[25] contains an interesting collection of two texts on Arabic grammar: Ibn al-Wardī's (d. 1349) commentary on his *al-Tuḥfa al-wardiyya* (5r–36v; Fig. 1)[26] and Ibn al-'Aqīl's (d. 1367) commentary on *Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik* (d. 1274) (41r–176r).[27] The

24 See GAL II, 317, S II, 436–37.
25 The manuscript is described in Gori 2014, 7–8.
26 See GAL II, 140–141, GAL S II, 174–75.
27 GAL I, 298–300, GAL S I, 521–527.

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manuscript was copied by Abū Bakr b. *šayḫ* Dadab b. *šayḫ* Ḫayr b. ʻUmar b. Ǧamāl al-Bakrī, member of the learned al-Quṭbī Somali clan (Aw Quddub) living in Harar, between *ṣafar* and Friday 6th of *ramaḍān* 1254 (= 23 November 1838; colophon 36v and 176r). The Quṭbī clan, which boasts a genealogy going back to Abū Bakr, the first caliph of Islam, is a Somali- speaking holy lineage group who lives off teaching.[28]

IES 299[29] is a collection of basic texts on theology and logic. It contains al-Laqānī's *Ǧahwarat al-tawḥīd* (folia 4v–8v) and its commentary *Itḥāf al-murīd* (9r–60v);[30] followed by: *al-Sullam al-murawniq* ('The Elevating Stairs on the Science of Logic') on logic, composed in 1534 (folia 62v–68r) and its commentary (68v–90v; Fig. 2), both works by the North African scholar al-Aḥḍarī.[31] In this manuscript, a very renowned work on logic was compiled together with two theological treatises; in some other cases, texts on logic are in the same manuscript as grammatical handbooks (e.g. in IES 309).

Fig. 2: IES 00299, al-Aḥḍarī, commentary on *al-Sullam al-murawnaq*. Folia 68v–69r.

28 Genealogically, the Aw Quddub are a section of the Šayḫāl clan family: Pirone 1954, Gori 2003, 221–222.

29 For a description of the manuscript see Gori 2014, 12–13.

30 GAL II, 316–317, GAL S II, 436–437. The commentary on the *Ǧawharat al-tawḥīd* was authored by al-Laqānī's son ʻAbd al-Salām.

31 On al-Aḥḍarī see GAL II, 355–356 and GAL S II 705–706; on the *Sullam al-murawniq* see also GAL S I, 843.

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IES 272[32] contains a noteworthy selection of texts about *'ilm al-ḥurūf* (science of the letters of the alphabet and their supernatural values and powers) and *ḫawāṣṣ al-asmā'* (the qualities and hidden characteristics of the names of God). The first text of the collection is a piece of work by Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh Ibn Qurqmās (d. 1477) on the mystical qualities of the letters of the Arabic alphabet called *Kitāb bahǧat al-ṭarf fī 'ilm al-ḥarf* ('The book of the joy of the glance into the science of the letters'; Fig. 3).[33] It is apparently identical with the *Fatḥ al-ḫallāq fī 'ilm al-hurūf wa-al-awfāq* ('The conquest of Creator in the science of the letters and the magical squares') by the same author, already known from manuscript 127 of the Escorial.[34] This rare text is followed by *al-Nūr al-asnā fī šarḥ asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā* ('The most brilliant light on the explanation of the most beautiful Names of God'), attributed to the famous al-Būnī (d. 1225).[35] The codex was finished on the 15th of *šawwāl* 1210 (23 April 1796).[36]

Fig. 3: IES 00272, Ibn Qurqmās *Kitāb bahǧat al-ṭarf fī 'ilm al-ḥarf* (=*Fatḥ al-ḫallāq fī 'ilm al-hurūf wa-al-awfāq*). Folia 1v–2r.

32 See Gori 2014, 6–7 for a more detailed description of the codex.

33 This title is not mentioned in GAL. On Ibn Qurqmās see GAL II, 139 and GAL S II, 172.

34 Derenbourg 1884, 79.

35 The title, which was already mentioned in Jomier 1967, 288, is not listed in the *corpus bunianum* (Witkam 2007a). A text called *Nūr al-asmā fī šarḥ al-asmā' al-ḥusnā* attributed to a certain Ḥāmid al-Firkawī is mentioned in GAL S II, 937.

36 The scribe was Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. Nūr, otherwise unknown.

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(2b) 'Liturgical' manuscripts containing relatively standardized collections of texts to be read at relevant religious festivals (mainly the *mawlid al-šarīf*) or at ceremonies performed by members of mystical brotherhoods.

The celebration of the *mawlid* (birthday) of the Prophet on the day 12 of the month of *rabīʿ al-awwal* is one of the most important and cherished festivities among Ethiopian Muslims. To solemnize this occasion, panegyrics praising Muḥammad and magnifying his rank among the Prophets are publicly and collectively read and recited together with devotional prayers (*duʿāʾ*) asking for the Prophet's intercession. Manuscripts with this genre of texts are very widespread and local scholars in Ethiopia and Somalia invested great efforts to produce poems, prayers and pious invocations for the feast of the *mawlid al-šarīf*.

In Harar, for example, a specific collection of texts is usually recited during the mass celebrations on the day of the *Mawlid* as well as during other private or public festivities. This collection is recorded in many codices in Ethiopia (e.g. in IES 264, 273, 1855, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666).[37] Six printed editions have also been available on the Ethiopian Islamic book market, two of which are actually photomechanical reproductions of manuscripts.[38]

A first tentative analysis of the sources has shown that the structure of the Harari *Mawlid* collection appears to be built around two textual constellations: a first conglomerate includes *taḫmīs al-Fayyūmī ʿalà qaṣīdat al-Burda* ('the Taḫmīs of al-Fayyūmī on the Poem of the Mantle in honour of the Prophet by al-Buṣīrī'; Fig. 4)[39] preceded by a series of anonymous *ṣalāwāt ʿalà al-nabī* (prayers for the Prophet Muḥammad) and a more or less wide selection of pietistic poetry.
A second conglomerate includes the less known *Kitāb ʿUnwān al-šarīf* ('The book of the token of the Noble') by Abū al-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Nāṣir[40] followed by a series of *ṣalāwāt ʿalà al-nabī*, long invocations to God and devotional poetry.

The function of *trait d'union* between the two sections of the collection is basically performed by a series of anonymous *salāmāt ʿalà al-nabī* (greetings to the Prophet Muḥammad), to which poems in praise of the Prophet, invocations and other devotional literature are added.

37 For a description of these manuscripts see Gori 2014, 4, 7, 25, 40–42.
38 On the *Mawlid* collection in Harar see Gori 2010. The two photomechanical reproductions appeared in 1412/1992 (manuscript of an anonymous copyist) and in 1421/2000 (manuscript completed on the 26 of *ramaḍān* 1421/22 December 2000 by the copyist Ibrāhīm Muḥammad Wazīr).
39 The *taḫmīs* was composed by Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Fayyūmī (GAL I, 264–65, GAL S II, 469–470; Witkam 2007b, 98). *Taḫmīs* (lit. 'to make five') is the procedure by which two hemistichs of an usually well-known poem (in this case the *Burda* of al-Buṣīrī, d. 1294) are supplied by three new hemistichs created by another poet to form a rhyming stanza of five hemistichs.
40 For a possible identification of this author see Jomier 1967, 291.

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Fig. 4: IES00273, incipit of *taḫmīs al-Fayyūmī ʻalà qaṣīdat al-Burda*. Folia 32v–33r.

As the text collection of the *Mawlid* is conceived to be recited collectively, the influence of the public festival performances managed to partially modify the more recent manuscript tradition. The impact of the ceremonial praxis became evident in the printed editions which are gradually substituting older manuscripts. Texts in Arabic and in Harari which were not originally part of the collection but are commonly sung during the *Mawlid* feast started to be copied in modern manuscripts and were then published in books for the use of the faithful.

3 Closing remarks

Little is known about the Islamic manuscript tradition of the Horn of Africa, which makes it impossible to arrive at definite conclusions with regard to its characteristics. However, a preliminary survey of the available material indicates that composite and MTMs are relatively common in this particular Islamic tradition. This assertion is based on three evident facts: 1) ‘colonial’ manuscripts, more or less purposely assembled and bound by/for Europeans, represent a considerable part of the material. 2) The circulation of codices in the region appears to be directly

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linked to the exigencies of education. The tight connection between manuscript copying and teaching/ learning practices triggers the production of codices which contain some fundamental texts and handbooks of a branch of the traditional Islamic curriculum. These manuscripts were created to be read and discussed in educational establishments and were thus conceived as a practical tool for the teacher and his students. 3) Collective and individual recitation of devotional and liturgical texts also fostered the copying of manuscripts to maintain the most commonly chanted and declaimed litanies, prayers, invocations and poems.

Further research and investigation will prove whether these provisional assessments can be confirmed or not.

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Gerhard Endress

‘One-Volume Libraries’ and the Traditions of Learning in Medieval Arabic Islamic Culture

1 Introduction

From the great variety of multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) preserved in the funds of Arabic codices worldwide, we can present a few examples only for different fields of learning. These make evident the intimate alliance between textual transmission and the teaching tradition of the disciplines in the schools of law as well as in the rational sciences. This alliance is characteristic, or even constitutive, of medieval Islamic civilization and the seminal texts of the founders of the schools of learning were accompanied by consistent authentication. Many collections represent the cursus of studies, which increased in number and bulk, of the learned schools of Arabic Islamic culture, most notably of the law college: the *madrasa*. Furthermore, and here special attention is attributed to the traditions of philosophy and the sciences, ‘one-volume libraries’, such as the one described by Franz Rosenthal in 1955, may represent the reading of an exceptionally learned and original student of the rational sciences, or an authoritative corpus of basic texts taught by an individual scholar. A great number of such ‘one-volume libraries’ from the 16th and 17th centuries is preserved in the collections of Iran, Central Asia and India, and in other manuscript funds of Iranian provenance. The readings compiled in these volumes document the integration of Shiʿite theology, philosophy and mysticism into the Ṣafawid schools of philosophical theology in Iran and their offspring in Central Asia and India. Some exemplary pieces of this manuscript tradition will be presented from a codicological point of view, illustrating the structure of the collections as growing diaries of philosophical studies, characteristic traits of script and layout, and the philological techniques of collation and annotation.

To say that Arabic Islamic civilization is a culture of the book would seem a trivial statement. More specifically, one should add that classical Islamic learning and letters, in the religious and scientific communities as well as in the culture of ‘literary erudition’ (*adab)*, is characterized by the intimate alliance between textual transmission and a personal teaching tradition.

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Fig. 1: Scholars in a library (books lying in the shelves, view on the top or bottom edge). Illustration from a manuscript of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, dated 1237. MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arab. 5847, fol. 5b. Image © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The basis of Arabic Islamic culture is a text. Whereas pre-Islamic, pre-7th century traditions of Arabian tribes were solely guaranteed by personal testimonies and were not recorded in writing until the end of the 7th century, the teaching of Islam, in contrast, was put into writing from its very beginning. The integrity of the Koran as a text was of primary importance, and its interpretation was safeguarded by the prophetic guarantor. The Koran is 'enunciation', 'recitation', i.e. *Qurʾān* (from *qaraʾa*, 'recite'), of God's word by the Prophet Muḥammad. It was orally recited by the prophet, and was initially recorded incoherently and haphazardly

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by his audience. The integrity and univocity of the text was of primary importance for the unity of faith and practice in the growing community, and had to be guaranteed by the personal authority of the Prophet and teacher, which was witnessed and subsequently transmitted by his community. It was accompanied by the Prophet’s own comments and instructions: the *Sunna*. These were recorded by the growing circle of the first community of Muslims and authenticated by continuous and coherent standards of authentication that developed during the first two centuries of Islam. Through such authentication, the *Sunna* acquired the status of second *aṣl*, ‘root’ and foundation, of the *Šarīʿa*, the revealed law of Islam. In essence, all of the *Sunna* — sayings and exemplary acts of the Prophet and the circle of his early followers (*ṣaḥāba*, companions) — is a verbal or pragmatic interpretation of the Koran. In order to enhance the authority and acceptance of their tradition, the jurists of the second Islamic century were determined to base all norms and rulings on the Prophet’s personal authority, and insisted on the close connection between textual transmission and teaching tradition. Textual transmission was required to truly preserve the literal text, and to disseminate the text through accurate manuscript copies for the benefit of many readers and users. The teaching tradition provided norms establishing the authenticity, and safeguarding the integrity and accuracy of the text.

1.1 Standards and certificates of transmission

An eminent authority of Muslim tradition, al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī (d. 463/1070, a Shafiʿite jurist and preacher, *ḫaṭīb*, at the Great Mosque of Baghdad) said: There are two depositories of *ʿilm*, (religious) knowledge: the hearts of the scholars, and their books, but the former is superior. An alleged interdiction of *kitābat al-ʿilm* (‘writing of knowledge’) pronounced by the Prophet was put forward in order to vindicate the privileged authority of the personal teacher; here, *kitāba* is not so much the writing down of what one has read or heard, but — in the context of consolidating standards of teaching — the transmission of *Ḥadīṯ* by writing alone.

Written tradition was to be authorized through personal instruction; only this would warrant the literal correctness. In view of the nature of the Arabic writing system, this was not a trivial matter. In this, an alphabetical script based on the reduced inventory of Nabatæan script, a number of graphemes are distinguished by marks added to the bare glyph, and short vowels are generally not marked by vowel signs except when misunderstandings are anticipated. The many homographs of the consonantal grapheme (*rasm)* left the meaning of a word or even an entire sentence open to interpretation. This is due to the fact that in the prim-

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itive stages of the writing system it was not marked by diacritics and lacked reading marks, which are crucial for the correct understanding of the text. An example of such a marking would be the vocalisation denoting inflection (*iʿrāb*) and derivation of a word. In consequence, text comprehension required the guidance of grammatical and semantical exegesis.

Not only the bare understanding and the literal correctness of a text had to be controlled by an authorized teacher; what is more, only the teaching tradition would safeguard the coherence and continuity of the orthodox tradition.

The nature of the early Islamic book, *kitāb*, which contained religious, legal and historical traditions, has been heavily disputed. Not every *kitāb*, literally 'a piece of writing', ascribed by the biographers and bibliographers to scholars of early Islam and mentioned by the traditionist jurists and historians, was a 'book' between covers. While we may assume that written materials always served as a basis of instruction, there was a distinguishable period of transition from books for teachers — notes, aide-memoires, the text of which would be subject to changes in wording, arrangement and even substance, 'produced' individually in the lecture course and in the lecture notes taken down by each disciple in the very process of *viva voce* instruction — to books for readers.[1] Only the latter were transmitted as a whole, independently of the individual personal lecture, and were copied as books in the strict sense of the word.

Normally the student, a beginner or an accomplished scholar, was also the scribe, taking down the text from the dictation of the master, *šayḫ*, in a lecture course (*maǧlis al-imlāʾ*) or copying from an authorized exemplar. Only wealthy persons could order copies from a salaried copyist (*warrāq*). Even so, most scholars were occupied all night long with copying the texts they needed for their personal use. Reputed teachers could dictate to a famulus (*mustamlī* 'who is taking down dictation'). A famulus was not a professional scribe, but a student who acquired the right to teach the texts through the *licentia docendi*, *iǧāza*, of the master. As regards the earlier period and the transmission of *Ḥadīṯ*, and the Koranic and legal disciplines, a *licentia docendi* was granted individually for a text and not for a discipline. The personal acquisition of an *iǧāza* from reputed teachers often required extended journeys *fī ṭalab al-ʿilm* 'in the quest for knowledge.'

By the end of the 3rd century of the Hiǧra (9th century CE), standard authentication procedures had been established, which were required for obtaining an *iǧāza*. These included the documentation in the form of transmission certificates in the manuscripts indicating the place of the licence-holder in a consistent chain

1 Gregor Schoeler 1992, 1–43; and 2002, esp. ch. VII 'Lire ou entendre les livres'; 2006 and 2009.

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(*isnād* 'support' sc. of authenticity) of teachers and transmitters. The terms used in these certificates illustrate the actual situation and the method used for instruction in the *maǧlis*, the course of studies held in the mosque or — rising in the late 10th century — the law college, *madrasa* which was dedicated to the teaching of one of the orthodox schools of law: The *maǧlis al-samāʿ* '*auscultatio*', where the *šayḫ* would recite the text, with his explanations, while the students were writing down or emending the text in their hands, and the *maǧlis al-qirāʾa* '*lectio*', where students would read the text to the *šayḫ*, awaiting his corrections and comments. Other notes accompanying our manuscripts document the provenance of the exemplar used for copying, the collation (*muqābala*) of the apograph with its exemplar, or simply the fact that such-and-such read and studied the text. A formal certificate is always dated precisely. Not only in the transmission of the Islamic disciplines and their ancillaries, but in all branches of manuscript tradition, the completion (*tamām, farāġ*) of a book, or also of single treatises in collective volumes, is frequently dated and signed by the copyists in the colophon.[2]

Such standards were applied not only to the sanctioned sources of the revealed law and the commentaries and authoritative manuals of the schools, but — insofar as texts would form part of the cursus studiorum (*taʿlīqa*, a syllabus of texts 'appended', *muʿallaq*, by the student to his resource of learning) in the law college — also to the early, pre-Islamic, and the classical witnesses of the ʿArabiyya, the handbooks and monographs of grammar and lexicography, constituting the hermeneutical basis of Koranic exegesis and of legal and theological reasoning.

The practice of making out certificates of transmission and of documenting the date of writing, the person of the scribe and the identity of the exemplar or exemplars used for copying and collating the text was extended as well to the transmission of texts not taught in *mosque* and *madrasa*. Even though this was applied less strictly in the early period, e.g., the Arabic translations of Greek scientific and philosophical works and the original writings of Christian, Jewish and Muslim authors in the fields of the rational sciences, we still find a wealth of illuminating notes of transmission and textual criticisms in such texts as well as in the Arabic Islamic disciplines, *ʿulūm islāmiyya*.[3]

2 For sources and studies on the methods of transmission and the certificates found in the manuscripts, see Endress 1982, 285–91; Makdisi 1982; Weisweiler 1951, 27–57.

3 See below, § 3.1, on an early 'edition' of the *Organon* of Aristotelian logic. — On the teaching of the sciences and of philosophical theology in the Muslim institutions of learning, see Endress 2006, 371–422.

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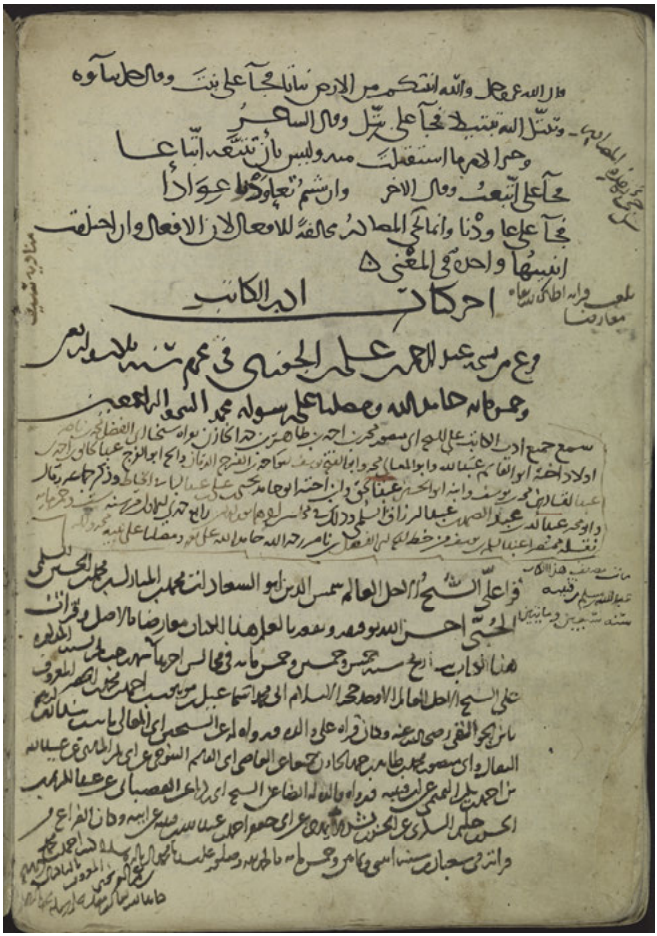

Fig. 2: MS Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 3370, fol. 123b. *Kitāb Adab al-kātib* 'Book on the Erudition of the Secretary' by the traditionist and historian Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), transcribed by the Ḥanbalite polymath Ibn al-Ǧawzī (597/1201) in Muḥarram 543 (May 1149). The dated colophon is followed by a protocol of personal transmission (*samāʿ*) and a certificate of reading dated 582/1186. The introduction of *Adab al-kātib*, a manual of correct lexical usage, is an important document defining the hermeneutics of Arabic philology as the basis of Muslim scholarship against the presumptions of the transmitters of the Greek encyclopædia of philosophy and the sciences. Image ©The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

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1.2 'One-volume libraries:' MTMs and composite volumes

MTMs are the least formal genre of books among the familiar types of collecting and organizing knowledge in medieval manuscripts. Apart from the basic authoritative texts constituting the foundations of doctrine and the corpora of sanctioned traditions, we have among the traditional genres of systematic instruction:

- commentaries on a text (starting with the Koran), (a) literal commentaries quoting the full text of the basic work divided into units (lemmata) followed by literal expositions, and (b) commentary-paraphrases and compendia of the basic works,
- systematic summæ, handbooks and multi-disciplinary encylopædias,
- and the smaller genres of treatises (*maqālāt*) and quæstiones (*masāʾil*), branching out from the comprehensive commentaries for explaining difficult and disputed points. Furthermore, we have epistles (*rasāʾil*), which were, actually or ostensibly, written in reply to queries from colleagues, disciples or patrons. They gave answers to the needs of the cursus studiorum, but were not included in the great commentaries, summæ, systematic handbooks or encyclopædic works of reference.

Even these latter genres of learned remarks and lecture notes may form coherent literary units, called *maǧālis*, 'séances' of the learned, or *amālī* 'dictations' of a famous teacher, and may reflect the discussions and *obiter dicta* of the participants of a lecture course or a scholarly circle, which were collected by one of the disciples of the *šayḫ*. Since these appear as titled monographs, they fall outside our present topic of MTMs or composite manuscripts.

But then, from every discipline taught in the institutions of learning of the Arabic Islamic schools and of the 'Greek' or rational sciences, we have a vast number and various types of MTMs. These consist of short or medium-length treatises and were written either by one author or by several authors treating a common topic or treating a wide array of topics on an entire field.

In the organization of knowledge of the schools, MTMs, produced by one scribe, and composite volumes, bound together by readers or booksellers (both called in Arabic *maǧmūʿa* 'collected, put together' sc. in one volume), play an important role in accumulating information which was not readily available in, or not compatible with, the standard resources of instruction and reference, and was not readily available on the book market. They were collected individually in the course of a long term of study and did not constitute a systematic *cursus*. Rather, they were chosen and compiled as they became available.

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Most of these are collections of shorter works, diatribes, quæstiones, and epistles. However, some of the bulky *maǧmūʿa* codices of the later Middle Ages, such as those from Ṣafawid Iran described below (§ 4), contain long works of dozens or even a hundred pages that were copied elsewhere and bound separately.

As to the shape and physical structure of the book, we have to do with codices written on quires of paper (paper having superseded parchment and Egyptian papyrus after the Chinese invention had been introduced into Iraq in the Abbasid period from the early 9th century), mostly quires of five sheets (quinios) or four sheets (quaternios). Within this general layout, we can distinguish between several familiar types of *maǧmūʿa* codices:

- Composite manuscripts, *recueils factices*, were bound together from several cahiers or codicological units that in the first instance were produced and put to use separately, and then bound by a bookseller or librarian, or the scribe himself.
- Multiple-text compilations (MTMs) organised and united by one scribe, and written in a continuous effort by a single hand. The text of one treatise would traverse the quire boundary after a quire had been filled. (A frequent practice, in the Arabic book as in the Latin West, consists of adding a catchword [reclamans] at the bottom of one quire pointing to the first word of the following quire in order to avoid disorder). These would grow in the course of several months, or even years, before they were finally bound by the *muǧallid* 'bookbinder' in the service of the *madrasa* and library foundations, or in the market by the 'papetiers', *warrāqūn*, who sold both paper and copies of books by commission.
- Finally, we find dummy books of empty pages, filled by the student or diarist in the course of time (as an example, see the jurist's study book presented below, § 2.2).[4]

4 On the physical aspects of medieval Arabic books, see Endress 1982, 285–91; on libraries, *id.*, 2011, 173–200.

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2 Collective manuscripts from the Islamic disciplines of jurisprudence and its ancillaries

We shall start with some examples randomly chosen from the holdings of the Bavarian State Library at Munich. They originate from the Islamic disciplines taught in the *madrasa*.

2.1 Two study books of religious and legal texts

A collection of treatises written by ʿAlī ibn Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Qāriʾ al-Harawī, a jurist from Herāt in Western Afghanistan, who worked and died in Mecca, d. 1014/1605, and other authors of the Ḥanafite school of law.

MS München: Bavarian State Library, cod. arab. 886

338 folia. Copied in Ottoman Turkey, between 1181 and 1190/1767–76.
The manuscript seems to be written by a single hand, but the dates given at several instances by the scribe for some of the individual treatises are not in sequence; this, and the fact that the first table of contents (fol. 1b) is followed by a second one on folia 2a–b, suggest that this is a composite volume put together by the bookbinder from the copyist's quires.

Fol. 1b: A typical table of contents, in the form of a cellular table, starting with a general inscription: 'This book contains a number of epistles, starting with a collection of excerpts on *fiqh* (Jurisprudence), *tafsīr* (Koranic exegesis), *ḥadīṯ* of al-Birgilī [a.k.a. al-Birkewī], the *ṭabaqāt* (generations) of the scholars [sc. Kamālpašazāde, *Ṭabaqāt al-ʿulamāʾ al-muǧtahidīn*], prayers, parǣnetic sermons, and history in Turkish', followed by 56 texts of one to fifteen folia, among which are 31 treatises by al-Qāriʾ al-Harawī, on all fields of Muslim learning.

Each of the treatises has a colophon of its own, stating at several instances the date of the copy; e.g., fol. 75b, end of the *Risālat tarǧamat al-Inǧīl* 'Translation [i.e. explanatory exposition] of the Gospel,' praying for God's blessings upon the author, Darwīš ʿAlī, and the copyist — the copyist of the whole manuscript — Ismāʿīl al-ʿUmarī: 'Completed is the copy on the 24th day of the month of Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa of the year 1181 of the Hiǧra [12th May, 1768] ... in the protected city of al-Qusṭanṭīniyya.'

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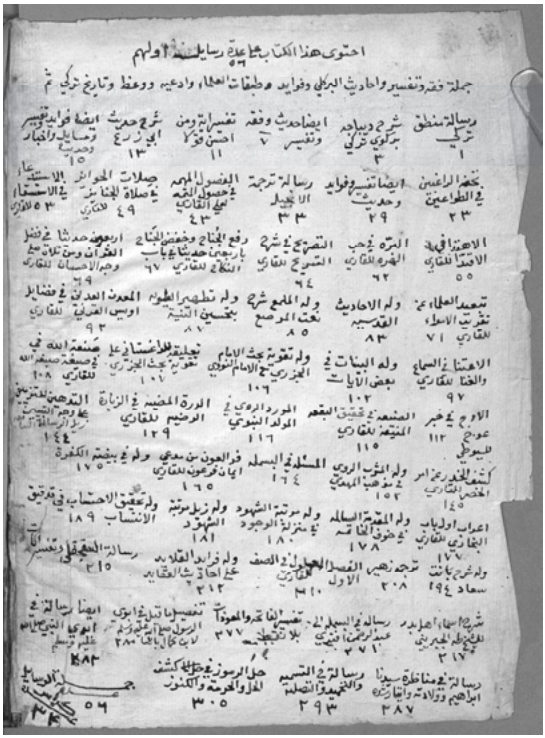

Fig. 3: MS München, Bavarian State Library, cod. arab. 886, fol. 1b. Table of contents. Image © Bavarian State Library.

A collection of treatises by the 15th century polyhistor Ǧalāl-al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505).

MS München: Bavarian State Library, cod. arab. 893

257 folia, 22 treatises. Copy dated 1150/1737. Copied by ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ǧalāl-al-Dīn al-Baʿlī al-Ḥanbalī, *ḫaṭīb* (preacher) in Damascus.

Most of the 22 treatises contained in this volume were written by a single scholar, one of the most prolific Egyptian authors on all disciplines of Muslim learning of the late Mamlūk period: pieces on *qirāʾa* (variant readings of the Koran, no. 18: a didactic poem, *Lāmiyya* by Šams-al-Dīn al-Ǧazarī [d. 833/1429], no. 22: a commentary on the same), and other Koranic sciences, *Kalām* (theology), grammar, artistic prose (*maqāmāt*) displaying the author's mastery of the ʿArabiyya.

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- No. 13, folia 83b–96. A treatise on *Kalām* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Zarkašī (d. 794/1391), copy dated in Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa, 769/1367.
- No. 14, folia 97–114. al-Suyūṭī: *al-Niqāya* ‘The Choice’, a somewhat longer treatise, has an intermediate title-page of its own [see plate 5]. It is an encyclopædic summary of fourteen disciplines. Beneath the title, written in red ink, several short excerpts and poetic distichs have been entered by owners of the manuscript. — The treatise closes with the scribe’s colophon: ‘Completed, with the praise of God and His support on Thursday, the 19th Rağab of the year 1150 [12 November, 1737], by the pen of ʿAlī Ḫaṭīb,’ i.e. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ǧalāl-al-Dīn al-Baʿlī al-Ṣāliḥī al-Ḥanbalī, *ḫaṭīb* in Damascus (also mentioned in the *explicit* of no. 12).
- No. 21, folia 178b–183b. Saʿd-al-Dīn Masʿūd b. ʿUmar al-Taftazānī (d. 793/1390, author of renowned textbooks on grammar, rhetoric, the Koranic disciplines, and *Kalām*): *Ġāyat tahḏīb al-kalām fī taḥrīr al-manṭiq wa-l-kalām* (part 1 on logic only).

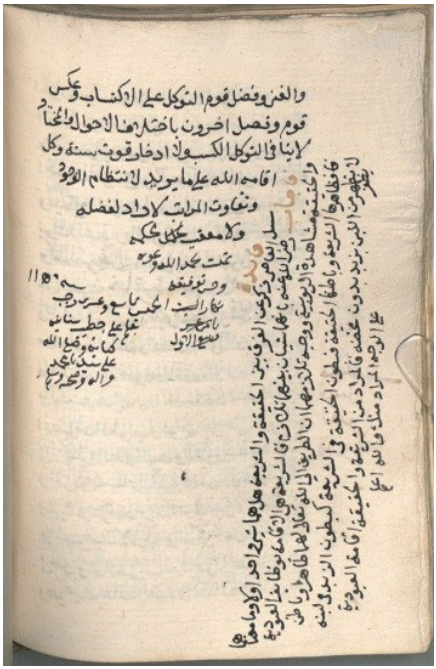

Fig. 4: MS München, Bavarian State Library, cod. arab. 893, fol. 114b. Explicit of al-Suyūṭī’s *Niqāya*, dated 1150/1737. Image © Bavarian State Library.

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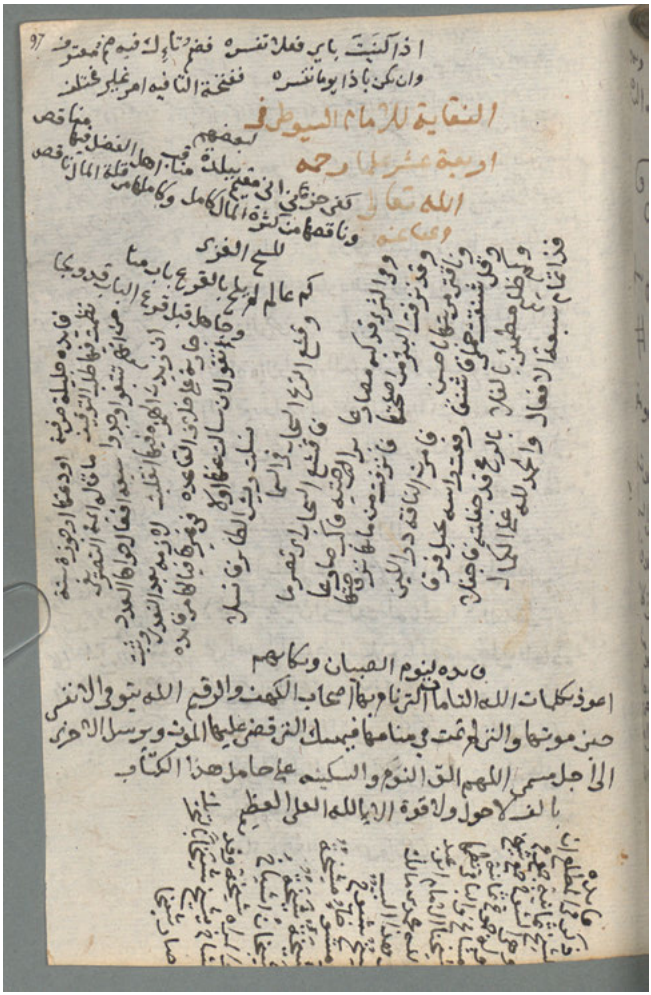

Fig. 5: MS München, Bavarian State Library, cod. arab. 893, fol. 97a; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Niqāya*. Image © Bavarian State Library.

2.2 A jurist's study book

The last of our examples from the Islamic disciplines is a special case, the like of which is not extant from the early middle ages: the personal notebook of a jurist who documented his studies in a bound book of 10 quinios. He entered the legal and other topics systematically at the top of a page, leaving space between this and the next topic according to the importance of the field and the space to be

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provided. He then over the course of time filled in traditions, legal pronouncements (*fatāwā*), excerpts and short treatises, which were arranged according to the systematic divisions of Muslim jurisprudence of the Ḥanafite school of law and its ancillaries (esp. grammar). In some cases, several pages are covered consistently and densely with such entries; in others, several pages were left empty with the exception of some scattered notes.

MS München: Bavarian State Library, cod. arab. 892

194 folia. 4° Two items dated 1034/1625, 1053 /1643, written in Constantinople.
Fol. 3a. Table of contents.
A choice of the various topics:

Fol. 9a. *Min qawāʿid al-ṣarf* ('Rules of morphology').
Fol. 10b. *Min qawāʿid al-naḥw*. ('Rules of syntax').
Fol. 12a. *Fī alfāẓ al-kufr: Bāb mā yakūn kufran min al-muslim wa-mā lā yakūn* ('Words the pronunciation of which constitute unbelief').
Fol. 34a. *Fī l-awǧās wa-taṭhīruhā* ('On substances regarded as impure and their purification').
Fol. 38a. *Kitāb al-Ṣalāt* ('Prayer').
Fol. 66a. *Bāb al-Ḥaǧǧ* ('Pilgrimage'), in Turkish.
Fol. 71a. *Kitāb al-uḍḥiyya* ('Animals of sacrifice').
Fol. 130a. *Fī l-aqālīm al-sabʿa* ('On the seven climates' of the inhabited earth), with a diagramm of the climates of the Northern hemisphere, and (fol. 130b) a ground plan of the Ḥaram of Mecca, with the Kaʿba in its center, containing detailed notes of the functions of the pilgrimage.
Fol. 143. *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyya* ('Generations of the Ḥanafites'), according to the Ottoman scholar Kamālpāšāzāde (d. 940/1534).

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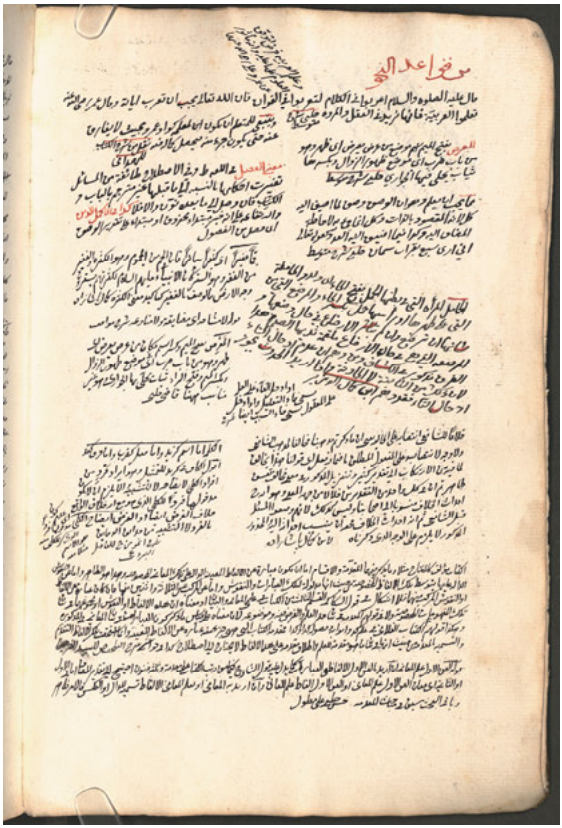

Fig. 6: A jurist's study book. MS München: Bavarian State Library, cod. arab. 892, fol. 10b. Excerpts of the rules of Arabic syntax (*qawāʿid al-naḥw*). Image © Bavarian State Library.

3 The rational sciences: Collections of logic, philosophy and the mathematical quadrivium

After these glimpses into the variegated genres and shapes of MTMs in the disciplines of Muslim law and its ancillaries, I would like to turn to a group of *maǧmūʿa* codices with a special place in the organization of knowledge in the rational sciences. In contrast to the Islamic sciences (Koranic exegesis and legal hermeneutics), these are called the sciences of the Ancients: philosophy (logic, natural philosophy, metaphysics), the mathematical quadrivium, medicine, and the life sciences.

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3.1 A collection of the logical works of Aristotle (*Organon*) in Arabic translation

An old Arabic 'edition' of the *Organon*, based on exemplars from the 10th century teaching of the school of Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī (d. 363/974) and his pupil Ibn Zurʿa (d. 398/1008). The manuscript of the logical works (excepting the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric)* is based on the autograph of the 'editor', al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār (Ibn al-Ḫammār, d. after 407/1017), including his copious comments and glosses added by later readers. In the colophons (written by one hand, different from the rest), detailed information is given on the provenance of the individual exemplars used for each book, partly going back to the autograph copies of the translators, or collated with the translators' holographs of the 9th and 10th centuries.

MS Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe 2346

380 folia. Dated before 418/1027. The codex is a *maǧmūʿa* in the strict sense. It is written by several hands, but all in the early 11th century. The present order of the books of logic does not follow the usual canon of Aristotle reading, but the codex was bound up from several independent units. In the process, the original sequence of several quires was disrupted. As distinguished from the logic proper (including Porphyry's *Isagoge*), the *Poetica* and *Rhetorica*, also bound into the volume (and regarded as parts of the *Organon* since late Antiquity), are of a different provenance and a somewhat later date than the rest. The original order of the books, and of some parts of the *Isagoge* and the *Categories*, can be restituted from an old foliation, on the lower right of the verso pages, in *zimām* (accounting) numerals.

1. folia 147b–156b; 161b (lacking the first folio of the text). Porphyrius, *Isagoge* (Arabic, *Madḫal Furfūruyūs al-mawsūm bi-Īsāġūǧī*), translated by Abū ʿUṯmān al-Dimašqī, transcribed, probably by Ibn al-Samḥ (d. 418/1027), from the exemplar of his teacher, Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī.
2. folia 157a–160b; 162a–178b. *Categoriae* (Arabic, *Kitāb Qāṭīġūriyās ay al-Maqūlāt*). Copied by Ibn Suwār from the exemplar of Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī, who had collated his copy against the autograph (*dastūr*) of the translator, Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn.
3. folia 179a–191b. *De interpretatione* (Arabic, *Kitāb Bārī Armīnās ay al-ʿIbāra*). Like the preceding work, this was based on Ibn Suwār's copy from Ibn ʿAdī's, and collated with Ishāq's autograph.

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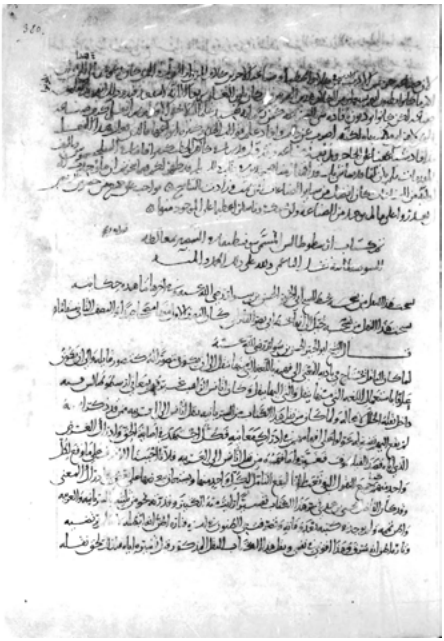

Fig. 7: MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arab. 2346, fol. 380b: Explicit of Aristotle, *Refutationes Sophisticae*. Image © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

4. folia 66a–130b. *Analytica priora* (*Anālūṭīqā al-ūlā*), in the translation of Theodore (Abū Qurra?), from the copy of Ibn Suwār, and copied by the latter from the exemplar of Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī.
8. folia 192a–241b. *Analytica posteriora* (*Anālūṭīqā al-ṯāniya*), translated by Abū Bišr Mattā (d. 328/940). Based upon Ibn Suwār's copy, who collated his apograph with the copies of both Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī and his pupil ʿĪsā ibn Zurʿa.
9. folia 241b–327a. *Topica* (*Kitāb Ṭūbīqā*), translated by Abū ʿUṯmān al-Dimašqī (before 298/310–11). Transcribed by three different hands from the copy of al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār, and corrected against an exemplar revised by Abū Bišr Mattā.
10. folia 327b–380b. *Refutationes Sophisticae* (Arabic, *Kitāb Sūfisṭīqā fī l-tabṣīr bi-muġālaṭat al-Sūfisṭā'iyya*), in three Arabic versions by Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī, ʿĪsā ibn Zurʿa and an 'old translation presumably by al-Nāʿimī' (i.e. ʿAbd-al-Masīḥ ibn Nāʿima al-Ḥimṣī, 9th c.). Copied from Ibn Suwār's manuscript, who used an exemplar of uneven quality, partly presumed to be written by the philosopher al-Fārābī (s. below and Fig. 7).

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11. folia 1b–65b. The *Rhetorica* (Arabic, *Kitāb Rīṭūrīqā ay al-Ḫiṭāba*), normally the closing book of the *Organon*, forms the first part of the volume. Copied and annotated by Ibn al-Samḥ (d. 418/1027), probably in the early 11th century (the dates given in the manuscript are not clear), this belongs to the same tradition of Baghdadi Christian teachers of logic.
12. folia 131a–146b. The *Ars Poetica* (in Arabic, *Kitāb al-Šiʿr*), in Abū Bišr Mattā's translation, written in a different hand, without date and name of a scribe.

For the core texts of Aristotelian logic in Arabic translations of the 9th and 10th centuries, the manuscript provides impressive documentary evidence of the life of philosophy in the teaching and study of the 10th century. For these, viz. the *Isagoge*, *Categoriæ*, *De Interpretatione*, *Analytica*, *Topica* and *Refutationes Sophisticae*, the codex Parisinus is an authentic testimony of the Aristotle reading of the tenth-century school of the Nestorian Abū Bišr Mattā (d. 328/940), his Muslim disciple Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 345/950), the Christian Arab theologian and philosopher Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī (d. 974), and his (mainly Christian) pupils. The principal source of our manuscript is a copy executed by al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār (Ibn al-Ḫammār, d. 1017), going back to the holograph exemplars of his teachers, Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī and the latter's immediate disciple ʿĪsā ibn Isḥāq ibn Zurʿa (d. 1008). Ibn Suwār's autograph provided the direct source of our manuscript, and was annotated by himself and a number of other readers with lecture notes taken down from Ibn Suwār's teachers.[5]

In the colophons of the individual works, detailed notes on the exemplars of the Arabic texts and the critical method of the learned 'editors' are given for all parts of the logic. The sample page shown in Fig. 7 shows the end of the *Sophistici Elenchi*, closing with the third Arabic version ascribed to al-Nāʿimī, and giving the following information:

> Completed is Aristotle's book called *Sophistica* on the exposure of the sophistical fallacies. I have copied this translation from an exemplar in the handwriting of the *šayḫ* al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār — may God be pleased with him — at the closing of which it was written as follows: I have copied this translation from an exemplar appearing to be written in the hand of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī; the first half of this was correct and well-done, whereas the second half was faulty.

5 The teaching tradition of the Arabic *Organon* was first analysed on the basis of the Paris manuscript by Richard Walzer 1953, 91-142, repr. in Walzer 1962; ²1963, 60–113. A new analysis has been put forward by Henri Hugonnard-Roche 1992, 139–45.

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This is followed by closing remarks of Ibn Suwār on the requirements of a good translator, and on the lost commentary of Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī on the *Sophistici Elenchi* (Fig. 7).

3.2 Two mathematicians' collections of mathematical treatises, mainly on geometry and trigonometry

A collection of 51 mathematical and astronomical treatises by various authors, compiled and copied by the reputed tenth-century geometer Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd-al-Ǧalīl al-Siǧzī (fl. c. 390/1000), who at the end of each treatise makes careful mention of the date and place of completion, and of the origin of the exemplar used for his apograph, often going back to an illustrious predecessor in the field.

MS Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe 2457

Copied at various instances between 969/1562 and 972/1565, mostly in Shiraz, by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd-al-Ǧalīl.[6]

Parts of the manuscript are in considerable disorder, and in consequence the dated treatises are not in sequence. After painstaking scrutiny of the codex, Paul Kunitzsch and Richard Lorch have concluded that 'the volume was made up of sections, each beginning with a blank recto page as is usual with Arabic manuscripts, and that there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the colophon's or of Sijzī's writing of the copy.'[7]

A few examples of dated colophons:

Fol. 60a, No. 14 (Fig. 8) based on the exemplar of Naẓīf ibn Yumn, physician at the hospital (*bīmāristān*) of Baghdad, copied at Shiraz, in Rabīʿ II, 359 (written in *abǧad* numerals: *šnṭ*) after the Hiǧra (= March, 970 CE).

Fol. 78a, no. 16, a treatise on irrational roots by Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīz al-Hāšimī, as the preceding one copied from the ex. of Naẓīf ibn Yumn.

Fol. 139a, a treatise by ʿAlī ibn Sahl on the properties of the three conic sections, copy dated 12th February 972: this time the date is given according to the Sasanid calendar of the Yazdgirdi era, Bahmān 340 (again in *abǧad* numerals).

6 Detailed description by Paul Kunitzsch, Richard Lorch 1993, 235–40; table of contents in Franz Woepcke 1856, 658–720.

7 Kunitzsch and Lorch 1993, 239.

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The use of this era, named after the last Sasanian king before the Muslim invasion, is not uncommon with the early astronomers and astrologers, still relying on the stellar tables of the Iranian tradition.

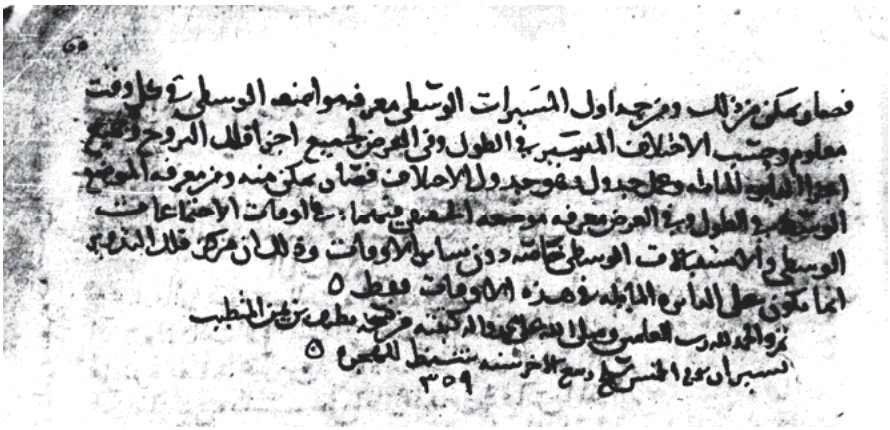

Fig. 8: MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arab. 2547, fol. 60a. Image © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

A collection of treatises on Euclidean geometry by Abū Saʿīd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Siǧzī (fl. c. 390/1000).

MS Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 3652

Dated 23rd Ǧumādā I 612/19th September 1215, at the Madrasa Niẓāmiyya of Bagdad (Fig. 9a).[8]

The manuscript of the Chester Beatty Library is a collection of treatises on Euclidean geometry, most of them works of Abū Saʿīd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Siǧzī (fl. c. 390/1000), copied in 612/1215 at the Madrasa Niẓāmiyya of Bagdad. It was compiled and copied by al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad, a direct descendant of the great vizier, and founder of the *madrasa*, Niẓām-al-Mulk (d. 485/1092).

This collection of treatises, authored by the learned compiler and copyist of our preceding manuscript, the tenth-century mathematician al-Siǧzī himself,

8 See Arberry 1955–64, 3:58–60 and plate 85.

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shows that the teaching and transmission of the rational, especially the mathematical sciences, was incorporated into the *madrasa* since the Seljuqid period of the Islamic East, i.e. since the second half of the 11th century. The *madrasa*, 'school', an institution rising from the end of the 10th century, was originally a college of law, providing rooms for teaching and living, means of sustenance, a library and other services for both teachers and students; it was funded by a pious endowment, *waqf*, and was normally dedicated to one of the legal schools of orthodox Islam, supported by the founder.[9]

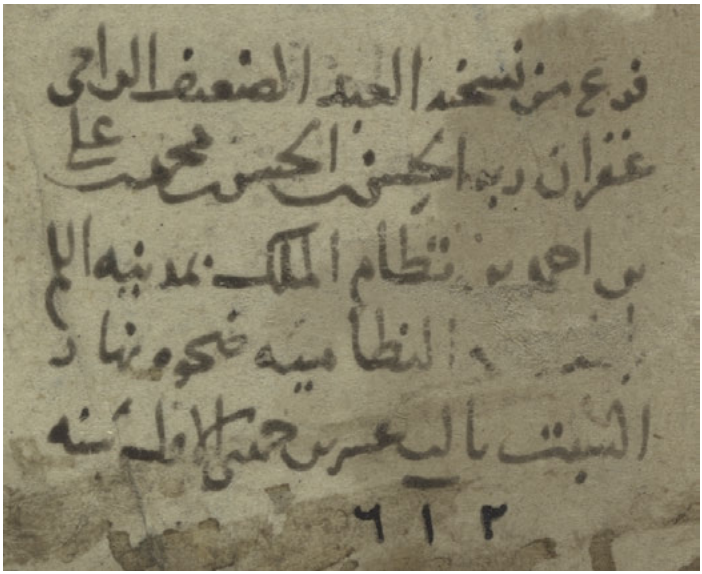

Fig. 9a: MS Dublin, Chester Beatty 3652, fol. 86a, colophon dated Saturday, 23th Ǧumādā I, 612 (19th September 1215). Image ©The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

Some of the works are:
No. 1. al-Siǧzī: *al-Madḫal ilā ʿilm al-handasa* ('Introduction to geometry').
No. 2. *id.*, *Barāhīn kitāb Uqlīdis* ('The demonstrations in Euclid's *Elementa*').
No. 7. al-Siǧzī, *Fī masāʾil muḫtāra* ('On various geometrical problems raised by mathematicians of Shiraz and Khorasan') (Fig. 9b).
No. 12. Ibn al-Hayṯam, *Maqāla fī l-taḥlīl wa-l-tarkīb* ('On analysis and synthesis').

9 On further evidence of the teaching of the rational sciences in the pre-Mongol Madrasa, see Endress 2006.

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Fig. 9b: MS Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 3652, fol. 51a. Image ©The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

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Fig. 10: MS Damascus, Ẓāhiriyya, 4871, fol. 36a; title page of ps.-Gregory of Nyssa, *Kitāb al-Abwāb* (Nemesius of Emesa, *De natura hominis*).

3.3 A library of 10th–11th century philosophical and scientific learning

Philosophy is not a profession unless it is taught by a professor of philosophy at a school of higher learning — the Museion of Alexandria, the *madrasa* once it had opened its door to the *ʿaqliyyāt* or *ʿulūm al-awāʾil* (i. e. the rational, or 'ancient' Greek sciences) – and even then, it is often subordinated to the mathematical sciences on the one hand, or to theology, on the other, as an *ancilla* providing the tools of discourse and supporting the arguments and claims of the *artes*. We have a number of ancient *maǧmūʿa* codices, illustrating the philosophical context of scientific learning outside of such institutions, and — in the case of the collection presented here — the choice of philosophical reading made by a professional mathematician.

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MS Damascus: Ẓāhiriyya, 4871

146 folia. Dated between 1155 and 1163, mostly at Baghdad. Readers' notices dated 550/1155 and 856/1452.[10]

From a note found on fol. 36a, the title page of ps.-Gregory Nyssenus, *Kitāb al-Abwāb* (Fig. 10), we can conclude that an original number of 80 treatises was once contained in this MTM, of which 43 treatises remain, partly in disorder. The entire manuscript can be attributed to the same anonymous copyist, a resident of Baghdad. He was a competent scholar who inserted numerous corrections and comments in the margins, and in the colophons of some of the treatises, remarks on the provenance, names of scribes, and the quality of his exemplars, and, in some cases, the date of his copying. From these dates, we learn that the copying of the whole collection spanned at least eight years, from 550/1155 to 558/1163.

A selective summary of the contents (in total, 24 philosophic and 17 scientific treatises):

a) Philosophy. Greek sources in Arabic translations:
- No. 2. Ps.-Plutarchus: *Placita philosophorum*.
- No. 27–36. Alexander Aphrodisienis: *De principiis universi* and various *Quaestiones* on logic and metaphysics (no. 34: Proclus, *Elementatio theologica*, prop. 15–17, ascribed to Alexander).
- No. 6. Themistius: Commentary of Aristotle' *Metaphysics*, book *Lambda*, chapter 1 and 2.
- No. 37. Themistius on a question of the syllogism.
- No. 34: Proclus, *De aeternitate mundi*. — No. 42: Proclus: *Problemata physica*.
- No. 5. Ps.-Gregory of Nyssa: *Kitāb al-Abwāb fī ṭabīʿat al-insān* ('Book of Chapters on the Nature of Man') [in fact, Nemesius Emesenus: *De natura hominis*].

b) Arabic philosophy (including popular ethics, and logic):
- No. 24. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ: *Kitāb al-Adab* (On courtly ethics and etiquette).
- No. 43. al-Isfizārī (fl. middle of 10th century): *Kitāb fī l-Umūr al-ilāhiyya* (questions of philosophical theology).
- No. 7. Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī (d. 374/974): Questions from of Aristotle's *Physica*.
- No. 4. Miskawayh (d. 421/1030): *Kitāb al-Fawz al-aṣġar* (a treatise of Neoplatonic metaphysics).

10 Detailed description by E. S. Kennedy and Jamil Ragep 1981, 85–108.

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c) 17 treatises on various topics of the mathematical sciences, geometry, astronomy and astrology, astronomical instruments, optics, and mechanics:
Translations from the Greek:
– Apollonius (Construction of a whistling instrument)

Arabic authors:
– No. 8. al-Qabīṣī (d. 356/967): *Imtiḥān al-munağğimīn* (How to examine professional astrologers).
– No. 16. al-Ṣaġānī (d. 379/990): *Maqāla fī l-abʿād wa-l-ağrām* (on planetary sizes and distances).
– No. 20. Abū l-Wafāʾ al-Būzağānī (d. 387/997): On reckoning the area of a triangle.
– No. 19. al-ʿAlāʾ ibn Sahl (fl. 4th/10th century: *Risāla fī l-āla al-muḥriqa* (On the burning instrument, i.e. burning mirrors and lenses). — No. 22. *Id.*: Proof that the heavens are not completely transparent.
– No. 26. ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Nasawī (fl. 5th / 11th century): *al-Tağrīd fī uṣūl al-handasa* (an epitome of the Elements of Geometry). — Added to this is a paragraph of recollections by the judge al-Ṣanawbarī about the author's personality and his practice of teaching at his residence in Rayy.
– No. 10. al-Ḫāzinī (fl. 520/1126): On constructing a rotating sphæra solida.
– No. 8. Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr al-Marwazī: Questions on astronomy.
– No. 17. Maḥmūd ibn Abī l-Qāsim [actually, a treatise by ʿUmar al-Ḫayyām]: On determining the amounts of gold and silver in an alloy.
– No. 11. ʿUmar al-Ḫayyām (d. 517/1123) [doubtful attribution]: Questions on astrology.

Most of the philosophical authors are confined to pre-11th century Christian Aristotelians and Muslim Neoplatonists — not yet superseded by the rising wave of Avicennism in the scientist circles of our 12th century compiler, thus preserving for us a number of sources not extant in other witnesses.

3.4 A 'one-volume library' of Arabic philosophical and scientific texts

The first MTM described as a 'one-volume library' by Franz Rosenthal in 1955 is an important collection of philosophical and scientific texts, written in 882–83/1487–88 by a learned bookseller from the Yemen, who compiled this massive volume of 410 large folio leaves for his own use from the manuscript books which

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had passed through his hands. The codex is impressive, not only with regard to the number of rare and unique texts it contains, but also as testimony to the catholic interests of a scholar who went beyond the established paths of a single authority or school of thought.

MS Istanbul: Süleymaniye kütüphanesi, coll. Carullah, 1279

314 folia. Compiled by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Nihmī, a learned bookseller residing in Ṣaʿda (Yemen), in 882–83/1477–78.[11]
The manuscript contains 26 treatises, among them:

Greek sources of Arabic Peripatetic and Neoplatonic philosophy, such as

– No. 9. A collection of 10 treatises by Alexander of Aphrodisias, among which is an item under the title of 'What Alexander of Aphrodisias excerpted from book of Aristotle called Theology', in fact 20 propositions from the *Elementatio Theologica* of Proclus.

Arabic philosophical authors mainly of the 11th and 12th centuries:

– No. 11. Ibn Sīnā: *Qiṣṣat Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, a commentary on this philosophical allegory by Ibn Sīnā's disciple Ibn Zayla, and Ibn Ṭufayl's philosophical romance bearing the same title.
– No. 14. The 'Metaphysics' of Avicenna's remarkable critic, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baġdādī (1162–1231), physician, philosopher and a polymath well-versed in many fields of natural history.
– Jewish authors, n. b. No. 16. Maimonides' *Dalālat al-ḥāʾirīn* ('Guide of the Perplexed').
– No. 25 and 26. Two works on astrology by Kūšyār ibn Labbān al-Ǧīlī (c. 360/971–420/1029) and Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Farġānī (9th century).

11 Detailed description by F. Rosenthal 1955, 14–23.

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Fig. 11: MS Istanbul, Carullah, 1279, fol. 40b; Incipit of ʿAbd-al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī's 'Book on the Science of Metaphysics,' *Kitāb fī ʿIlm mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿa*.[12]

4 One-volume collections of the sources of philosophical theology in Ṣafawid Iran

While the *maǧmūʿa* codices which have come down to us from the later Middle Ages of Islam may represent, in rare instances such as the Istanbul manuscript presented in the previous section, the reading of an exceptionally learned and original student of the rational sciences, such collections for the most part represent the *cursus* of studies, growing in number, bulk and also in scope, of the law

12 See Cecilia Martini Bonadeo 2013, ch. 3, 209ff. (211 'The manuscripts').

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college, the *madrasa*. A great number of such 'one-volume libraries' of the 11th and 12th centuries of the Muslim era is preserved in the libraries of Iran, Central Asia and India, and in other manuscript funds of Iranian provenance.

All these collections represent the personal effort of an individual scholar. No two of them are alike, even though many of the basic texts occur repeatedly. These are personal study books, which do not follow a systematic or even associative order, let alone a canon of set books, but grow under the hand of the untiring student in the course of several months or even years.

The readings compiled in these volumes reflect the school reading of Ṣafawid Iran. They document the integration of Shiʿite *Kalām*, *Falsafa*, and the mystical philosophy of the *Ṣūfīyya*, in the Ṣafawid schools of philosophical theology founded by Mīr-i Dāmād (d. 1040/1631–2) and Ṣadr-al-Dīn al-Šīrāzī (Mullā Ṣadrā, d. 1050/1640), taking up the tradition of Naṣīr-al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) and Ǧalāl-al-Dīn al-Dawānī (d. 908 / 1502–3), and continued by Rağab ʿAlī Tabrīzī (d. 1080/1669) and Qāḍī Saʿīd Qummī (d. 1103/1691), from the 15th to the 17th century, and by further transmitters and commentators until the 20th century. On the one hand, their teaching is heavily dependent on Avicenna's philosophical theology, and on the schools of his followers, both critics and defenders, who approached the problems of *Kalām* (Faḫr-al-Dīn al-Rāzī) and who rationalized the mystical vision of 'illuminationist' (*išrāqī*) Sufism (al-Suhrawardī, d. 587/1191) by means of the concepts and methods of the Greek philosophical tradition.

One of the characteristic traits of these schools is the return to pre-Avicennian sources, to the sources translated from the Greek language, and to the first syntheses of Hellenistic concepts with Muslim theology: sources apt to authorise a harmonious *weltbild* to be shared by the Shiʿite theologians and the philosopher-scientists of Tūsī's lineage and persuasion.[13]

The teachers and students of these schools not only read Avicenna and his commentators, but also retraced the chain of transmitters and commentators of their spiritual and intellectual traditions to its origins in the various fields of theology, philosophy, mysticism, and — depending on their professional competence — of mathematics and astronomy. Beyond their immediate curricular traditions, however, they fell back on the texts of gnostic and Neoplatonic *ḥikma* from the first period of reception and translation of the original Greek sources, and on the founders of *Falsafa* in the Arabic Islamic milieu: on al-Kindī, on the Baghdadi commentators of the Peripatetic tradition (s. above § 3.1, on the tradi-

13 On the context of this activity, see Marco Di Branco 2014, 191–217.

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tion of the *Organon* of logic) — Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī, ʿĪsā ibn Zurʿa, and their contemporaries in tenth-century Baghdad, among them Ibn Sīnā's most important forerunner al-Fārābī (d. 345/950), and indeed, on the compendia of Aristotle's logical and physical works by the Andalusian defender of Aristotle's authentic teaching, Ibn Rušd (Averroes, d. 595/1198).

Of the many one-volume collections surviving from this school, only two examples will be briefly presented here. For a more detailed survey of the authors and texts represented in these collections, see Endress 2001.

4.1. MS Tehran: Dānišgāh, Dāniškada-i Ilāhiyyāt, 242B

Dated 1057–65/1647–54.389 folia. 87 treatises. A composite codex bound up of separate pieces, written on different materials, but apparently by one hand; in two instances, a scribe is named, Farīd-al-Dīn Muḥammad, also known as a copyist of some Persian works by Afḍal-al-dīn al-Kāšānī. Dated at several instances between 1057/1647 and 1065/1654.[14]

4.2. MS Taškent: IVRU-1, 2385

409 folia. Akademija Nauk Respublika Uzbekistana, Institut Vostokovedenija im. Beruni [Beruni Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan].[15]

Dated (no. 68, fol. 299a, end of Aristotle, *De caelo*): 1075/1664 (copied from the exemplar?). According to the subscription, this text was copied from and collated with an exemplar found in Damascus on 15 Ǧumādā II, 580 / September 23, 1184).

In view of the great number of treatises, some of which are book-size monographs, only a summary survey of the authors can be given.

Græco-Arabic sources of Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophy, notably the sources belonging to the 'metaphysics corpus', collected and translated in the circle of the 9th century scientist and philosopher al-Kindī:

14 An analytical inventory has been provided in Endress 2001, 35–56.

15 Description (arranged according to subject-matter) of the individual treatises in: *Sobrannie Vostočnych rukpisej Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoj SSR*, red.: A. A. Semenov; t. 1-11 (Taškent 1952–87).

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- the 'Theology of Aristotle' (*Kitāb Uṯūlūǧiyā ay al-rubūbiyya*), in fact a paraphrase, with considerable additions of parts of Plotinus's *Enneades* (Fig. 12);
- treatises by Aristotle's commentator Alexander of Aphrodisias, among them propositions taken from the 'Elements of Theology' of Proclus said to be Alexander's excerpts of the same *Uṯūlūǧiyā*;
- Aristotle's *De caelo*, *De animalibus*.

Arabic Aristotelianism:
- Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī, the 10th century Christian philosopher (see above, § 3.1 p. 187, for his role as a transmitter of Aristotle's logic);
- Ibn Rušd (Averroes, d. 595/1198), commentary-paraphrases of Aristotle's work of logic and physics.

Early Islamic philosophy:
- al-Kindī (d. p.p. 282/865);
- al-Fārābī (d. 848/950), compendia and commentaries of Aristotelian philosophy, and original works integrating prophecy and the revealed law into a philosophical world-view;
- Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), metaphysical and ethical writings.

Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) and his school, represented with numerous treatises; Mystical philosophy:
- Šihāb-al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, *al-Talwīḥāt*, and further texts of mystical philosophy ('Illumination,' *išrāq*);
- Muḥyī-l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1140) and his follower Ṣadr-al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (sc. of Konya, d. 673/1274).

Philosophical theology of the Mongol and post-Mongol period:
- Naṣīr-al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), esp. his influential handbook of Shiʿite dogmatics, *al-Taǧrīd*;
- Afḍal-al-Dīn al-Kāšānī, the Iranian Neoplatonist (fl. first half of 7th/13th cent.);
- Ǧalāl-al-Dīn al-Dawānī, author of a much-commented treatise of theology, *Iṯbāt al-wāǧib* ('Proof of the Necessary Being) and a manual of ethics, and the authorities of the Ṣafawid schools, mentioned above.

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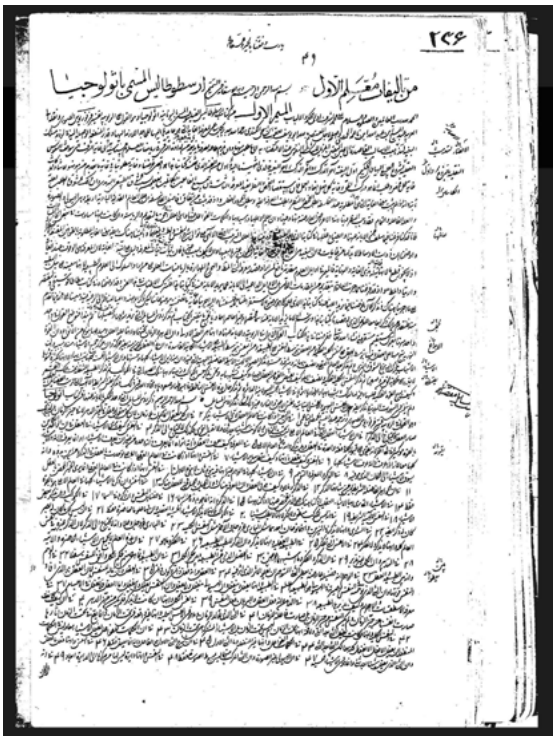

Fig. 12: MS Tehran, Dāniškada-i Ilāhiyyāt, 242B, fol. 236b; Incipit of ps.-Aristotle, *Uṭūlūǧiyā*.

4.3. MS Tehran, Madrasa-i Marwī, 19

Dated, 1073/1662 (no. 6 only, date of the copyist's exemplar?).
396 folia. 12 pieces. Summary description in Riḍā Ustādī, *Fihrist-i nusḫahā-i ḫaṭṭī-i kitābḫāna-i Madrasa-i Marwī* (Ṭihrān 1371 h.š./1992), 271–72. A sumptuous large-format codex. Titles of the individual parts are written in gilt letters and embedded in ornamental cartouches; the first is headed by an elaborate coloured canopy (Fig. 13).

The volume of philosophical texts contains several book-size units, but is clearly a MTM written by one hand and uniform in every respect. Monographs,

– No. 1. A collection of 53 treatises by the Christian Aristotelian Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī.[16]

16 Wisnovsky 2012, 307–326.

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- No. 2. Aristotle’s *De caelo* (in Arabic, *Kitāb al-Samāʾ wa-l-ʿālam* ‘Book on the Heaven and the World’),
- No. 3. Ps.-Aristotle, *Uṯūlūǧiyā* (*Theologia Aristotelis*, i.e. the Arabic Plotinus), and three important philosophical works by Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna):
- No. 4. al-Išārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt,
- No. 5. al-Naǧāt, and
- No. 6. al-Mubāḥaṯāt.

Fig. 13: MS Tehran, *Madrasa-i Marwī*, 19, fol. 2b: *Incipit* of a collection of treatises by the 10th century Christian philosopher Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī.

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Encompassing an impressive number of authors and texts, the industry of scholarly scribes has transmitted remarkable collections of philosophical treatises: collections that document both the limitations in scope and the vast reading, both the specialization of professional clerics and the compass of their commerce in manuscripts reaching far beyond the limits of Iran. What is more, many texts of pre-Avicennian philosophy would be lost if it was not for the activity reflected in these one-volume collections. The text of Aristotle's *De caelo* contained in the Tašḳent manuscript was copied, according to the subscription from a copy whose exemplar, in turn, had been transcribed and collated with an exemplar found in Damascus in 580/ 1184. An identical notice is found in another, single-text manuscript of the same text discovered in the Malik Library in Tehran. In ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī, ḥikma 149, a revised version of this Arabic translation of *De caelo* was copied from an exemplar written for the Artuqid ruler of Mayyāfāriqīn in Anatolia in 553/1158. Now, both versions are found in a dozen further manuscripts, all going back, respectively — as is evident from a critical *recensio codicum* — to the same exemplars. Generally, the many treatises of philosophy and the sciences retrieved from abroad through the efforts of Ṣafawid scholars, copies which served the compilers of our 'one-volume libraries' as exemplars, go back to one archetype.

4.1 A passage to India

MS Patna, Oriental Public Library, 2641

314 folia. 60 treatises, copied between 1644 and 1668.

Farther to the East, in Mughal India, we find exemplary MTMs documenting not only the canons of reading — paralleled by, but also going beyond, the authorities quoted in the manuals and compendia of the schools —, but also the networks of philosophy, rational theology and the mathematical sciences in the Eastern *madrasa*.

According to Arnzen 2004, this MTM contains three groups of texts descending from as many ancestors or families: (a) Thirteen texts of which we have copies in four closely related manuscripts from Qum. (b) Eight works of the Persian philosopher and poet Afḍal-al-Dīn Muḥammad Kāshānī. The third group is formed by twenty-one texts authored or transmitted by the 16th/17th-century polymath Niẓām-al-Dīn Aḥmad Gīlānī (1585 to 1645 or 1650). Coming from the Persian province of Gīlān (south of the Caspian Sea), this scholar lived for some time in Isfahan during

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the reign of Šāh ʿAbbās I. (reigned 995-1038/1588-1629) and then emigrated to India. His intellectual lineage is connected to the school of Isfahan; as Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640), he was a pupil of Muḥammad Bāqir Mīr Dāmād (d. 1041/1631) and Šayḫ Bahāʾ-al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1030 or 1031/1620-21).[17]

> Reflecting all major philosophical tendencies of the Safawid period, i.e. illuminationist theosophy, sufism, gnosis, and Hellenistic philosophy, the ms. proves the influence of all these schools in Muslim India and, what is more, a rather unbiased interest in their conflicting theological approaches. It is part of a movement which, without doubt, is rooted in the Safawid revival of Peripatetic and Neoplatonic philosophy and spread through expansive travelling and emigration to India (among scholars who emigrated from Safawid territories into northern India we find such famous names as Qāḍī Nūrullāh Shūshtarī, Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Dihdār Shīrāzī, or Mīr Abū l-Qāsim Findaraskī). Transmission and reception seem to have taken place easily and vividly as can be gathered from the large number of copies of and commentaries upon works of Ṣafawid thinkers as well as from the rather short temporal distance of this manuscript and other manuscripts. Iranian and Indian scientific and philosophical manuscripts of this period are, therefore, not only of crucial importance for the philological exploration of the scientific curricula (including many works of the formative period of Arabic philosophy), but also for the investigation of this epochal movement as a social phenomenon. This can be explored by tracing their owners, scribes and commissioners, and by penetrating the ways of their affiliation to the school of Isfahan (or other philosophical schools) and its Indian 'outposts', as well as by mapping the places and dates of copying, in order to get a better idea of the temporal and regional parameters of this movement.[18]

5 Conclusions

Reflecting the multifarious interests of scribes and scholars as well as students and professionals, the wide field of MTMs defies any systematic approach. It would be futile to classify what, at the best, is a phenomenon determined by practical needs — bound books are more convenient to handle, read, and consult than single leaves or small cahiers.

If we were to point out a characteristic trait of Arabic Islamic book culture, resulting from the scholarly activity in the medieval institutions of learning we focused upon in our short survey, it is the intellectual identity of the individual compiler and reader of these 'one-volume libraries' emerging from many of these

17 Arnzen 2004, 111–14.
18 Arnzen 2004, 112.

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codices. Not a standard syllabus or *cursus studiorum* is documented in these collections, but a library growing under the hands of dedicated students who, rather than single-minded 'nerds', will spare no effort when enticed by the name of a reputed author or the title of a rare and sought-for text in order to secure new resources of learning. Not complete works or "best of" collections, nor corpus sets (the *Organon* of logic, described above, is not a typical instance), are united in such volumes, but treasure troves resulting from months, or even years, of activity.

Within the wide range of scholarly competence and levels of understanding, we find much routine copying of standard texts (e.g., the thousands of copies of short textbooks and didactic poems made by paid *warrāqūn*, and those of the *summae* of legal doctrine made by groups of students taking turns in piecework for the production of multiple copies); but at the high end of learning, we find the scholar at work in verifying his source, checking his copy by painstaking collation, quite often on the basis of more than one manuscript, adding variants and learned annotation. Here, codicology goes far beyond the bread-and-butter job of textual philology, but brings to life the wealth of intellectual exchange and scholarly debate of a whole age in history.

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From 'One-Volume-Libraries' to Scrapbooks. Ottoman Multiple-Text and Composite Manuscripts in the Early Modern Age (1400–1800)

1 Manuscripts versus printed books

Manuscripts played a crucial role in Ottoman literary culture until, gradually, books printed in the Arabic, or rather: Arabo-Persian script began to dominate the market and marginalized (but never completely superseded) the handwritten book. This process had its origins in the 19th century, thereby beginning much later than in Europe, China and elsewhere. Before that century, printing did exist, but took place marginally. The first Ottomans who began to print books belonged to religious minorities such as Jews, Christians or were of Greek and Armenian descent – the Muslims apparently were not allowed to print their own books – and they were doing so from about 1500 onwards. The first Ottoman printing house publishing books in Arabo-Persian script was founded in 1729 by İbrahim Müteferrika, a Hungarian convert to Islam. In 1742, the printing house shut down, having had produced seventeen titles and 13,000 copies of non-religious texts. From that point on, books were only intermittently printed. The practise gradually became standard and was undertaken on a larger scale from the 1820s onward, first in Cairo and, later also in Istanbul. Before that new era, in which reforms inspired by European examples – in fact to a great extent forced upon the Ottomans by the increasing European presence and power – began to transform their society in a fundamental way, printed books did not find, as far as we can see, many Muslim buyers or readers, whether they had been printed locally or in Europe. The import of books printed in Europe was explicitly allowed from the late 16th century onward. The reason why the acceptance of the printed book took so long is not clear. Apart from a general aversion to innovations of any kind among early modern Muslims, scholars have suggested that it was the manuscript copyists in the Ottoman Empire who, fearing a loss of income, held up the introduction of the new technology. It is hardly plausible, however, that copyists could form an effective pressure group, because they seemed mostly worked on

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an individual basis and were not united in guilds as for instance bookbinders were.[1] Another explanation might be that the demand for manuscripts was simply too meagre (and the costs too high) to motivate potential 'publishers' to make use of mechanical means to increase production.[2]

2 Ottoman literary culture

The Ottoman Empire began its political and military decline from around the middle of the 16th century. It somehow survived uncolonised, though much reduced in territory, into the modern age. Because of this continuity, a relatively high percentage of manuscripts produced from the 14th century onwards has survived. The materials of which the manuscripts consisted, such as paper and ink, were on the whole of high quality. Nevertheless the number of surviving manuscripts is not impressive when compared to the enormous quantities of printed books that have survived from the same period in Europe. The Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, the richest historic Islamic library in the world, holds about 70,000 manuscripts. This demonstrates that relatively few people came into contact with Ottoman handwritten books.

One of the factors contributing to the restricted demand and, consequently, production of manuscripts was the fact that literacy among the populace as a whole was very limited. The literary rate was less than 10% of the population at the end of the 19th century, perhaps even as low as 5%, and was even lower during previous centuries. Although perhaps a relatively large number of boys visited a primary school – girls did not until the late 19th century – few enjoyed the higher education needed to read and understand Ottoman-Turkish texts. Most writers wrote in a rather florid style, showing off an abundance of Arabic and Persian loan words and preferably set in rhyme. Even fewer people in the Turcophone provinces were able to read the other two languages current in the Empire: Arabic and Persian. Arabic was taught at primary schools, where memorising the text of the Qur'an filled an important part of the curriculum, and Persian, the language of the classic poets, could only be learnt from private teachers. Oral

1 See Jan Schmidt 2004, 345–69; for a general survey of the history of printing in the Islamic world, see the article 'Matba'a' by Günay Alpay Kut and others, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition (Vol. VI [1991], pp. 799–803).

2 For a recent discussion on the question, see Jan Just Witkam 2012.

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literature was a wide-spread, if a seldom documented phenomenon, but in written form, even by origin, popular tales and folk songs were often transformed into stylistic exercises in the high style. Another factor contributing to the sparse amount of manuscripts was the cost of the production: paper was expensive, especially before the 17th century and even when the relatively cheaply produced European paper began to be imported into the Empire on a large scale, the copying fees remained high. Very few book markets and book shops existed and were found only in the urban centres of the Ottoman Empire. The readers outside of the main urban centres, which constituted as much as 80% of the population – depended on local or visiting scholars or literate persons who could and were willing to copy texts for them. Otherwise they had to rely on public libraries. These were scattered throughout the Empire, mostly as part of religious endowments which usually included a mosque, a *medrese* (school for higher learning), and other public facilities. They were often quite small, containing no more than forty or fifty books. From the 17th century onward larger libraries could be found in more populated cities such as Istanbul or Cairo. The term 'large' was meant in an Ottoman context, where the best stocked libraries in Istanbul comprised no more than 1000 to 1500 items. The Köprülü Library, which opened its doors in 1678, comprised only 326 Turkish, 2359 Arabic and 90 Persian manuscripts. That of Rāġıb Paşa opened in 1762, provided 68 Turkish, 41 Arabic and 1165 Persian handwritten books.[3]

Private libraries seem to have been rare, and insofar as people actually owned a manuscript it was more than likely a Qur'an or popular religious tract. Only the rich and mighty connected to the Istanbul court and the wealthy living in major provincial centres could afford to collect manuscripts. These rare libraries comprised from a few hundred to even more than a thousand manuscripts. The richest library of all was that compiled by the sultans in the Topkapı palace, which despite of its humble beginnings, ended up with more than 10,000 manuscripts, a large number of which were acquired as gifts.

3 'One-volume libraries'

Against this background it is perhaps small wonder that the collective manuscript in its various forms, but essentially functioning as a concise library, could flourish, and flourish it did on a grand scale, within the limits sketched earlier,

3 Frédéric Hitzel 1999, 25.

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that is. A superficial inspection of catalogues of Ottoman, including Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscript collections, shows that this type of manuscript must have been dominant. Hitherto little attention has been paid to the phenomenon in its Ottoman garb despite its conspicuous presence. That is not to say that collective texts, like collections of poetry or correspondence, and particularly texts found in collective volumes, have not, up to now, been the object of scholarly attention. Seeing the collection of works as a specific type or genre in itself has, until recently, mostly been ignored. Of late it has become a respectable topic of research.[4] Recently, Christoph Neumann recognised the importance of the phenomenon when he reckoned Ottoman collective volumes to be 'among the treasure troves of Ottoman intellectual history that still wait to be brought to light'.[5] The term 'treasure troves' here means that such manuscripts sometimes turn out to harbour rare or unique short texts which had so far escaped the attentions of the modern scholars. These collective volumes are, if only for that reason, in special need of detailed cataloguing. Unfortunately, even contemporary cataloguers often fail to realise the importance of thorough inventories of their contents or simply lack the time to dedicate much attention to individual manuscripts, some of which may contain up to a hundred or so separate textual units. One can still find summary indications, without further details, such as 'collection of poems' or 'collection of letters' in recently published catalogues. In the past some librarians found such manuscripts bothersome to the extent that they took care to have them split up into separate volumes. An example of this can be found in two Leiden manuscripts, now numbered Or. 823 and Or. 1100, that originally were part of a collection of dictionaries bound in one volume.[6] A similar approach, likewise obscuring codicological context, is reflected in the practice of some cataloguers to describe separate texts comprised in such manuscripts under the category of the genre to which they belong. This can be evidenced in the ongoing, in other

4 I myself studied a MTM: See Schmidt 2000, 165–78. A recent study on an Ottoman collective volume is Hatice Aynur 2007, 98–143.

5 Christoph K. Neumann 2005, 51–76, 61. Curiously, the same point in similar wording ('*mechūl birer hazīne*') had already been made by 'Alī Cānib [Yöntem], himself an author of an anthology of Turkish literature, in 1927, when he wrote about the 'inexhaustible' (*bitmez tükenmez*) number of uncatalogued miscellanies in the old Istanbul libraries, see 'Ba'zı mecmū'alara dā'ir', in *Hayāt* 32 (1927), p. 3, but his hint was, apparently, not taken up. See also Suraiya Faroqhi 1999, 164.

6 For descriptions of the Turkish manuscripts kept in the Leiden Unversity Library, see Jan Schmidt 2000, 2002 & 2006. It was M. Th. Houtsma, author of the last, sixth, volume of the old Latin catalogue, *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Lugduno-Batavae*, published in 1877, and keeper of the Oriental Collection at that time, who instigated the split, as a note on the back-board of Or. 1100 explicitly states.

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respects superb, series describing the Oriental collections in German public libraries (*Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*).

The general term 'One-Volume Library' can be subdivided into smaller categories on the basis of codicological units and content. A multiple-text manuscript (MTM) can be defined as a single codicological unit containing more than one text that can be defined by their content or genre; the texts in such a volume may or may not be related among themselves. One can roughly distinguish between three main types: (1) volumes that consist of a collection of a great number of relatively short textual units of any possible genre; (2) volumes that contain at least two or more substantial main texts of substantial length, often but not always belonging to the same or related genres or topics, but are written by the same author; (3) volumes containing one or more main, substantial texts accompanied by a number of added texts produced by a manuscript owner, that, if grouped together in, for instance, a separate quire or the endpapers of the volume can be considered as a subsidiary multiple-text volume. Among the first category one also finds (quasi-unitary) works of a genre that is miscellaneous by nature such as the collected poems (*divan*) of one poet, or the collected letters of one epistolographer or letter-collector. Some of these works, like the *Divan* of the sixteenth-century poet Bakî or the *Münşe'atu s-selatin* ('Letters from Sultans') by Feridun Ahmed Bey (d. 1580), acquired a relatively wide readership from the outset, were often copied, have been studied by scholars and were in a more recent past printed or edited. I will disregard them in what follows.

This rough categorisation into three main categories or types constitutes the bulk of the Ottoman MTMs. The Ottomans did not tend to favour a specific category or type nor did they distinguish between volumes produced for private use or for a wider reading public. An inclination to tamper with manuscripts by erasing the inscriptions of earlier users, adding notes and texts or pasting separate leaves or quires was also apparent.

What has so far been left unconsidered – and is not touched upon at all in the secondary literature – is the material aspect of the manuscripts discussed here. Texts and text fragments were either copied into an existing, as yet unused and bound manuscript, often of the notebook type (the MTM), or, on the other end of the scale, an amalgamation of already existing codicological units or fragments of such were turned into a singular volume afterwards by an Ottoman collector (the composite volume). Manuscripts of this latter composite type have the attractive characteristic of containing items that have, generally, been untouched since inclusion, and such manuscripts could be compared to a small, frozen library or archive.

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4 Scrapbooks for personal use

A most interesting subgenre is MTMs that were notebooks, commonplace-books, scrapbooks and albums compiled for personal use by an owner or, sometimes, a consecutive series of owners. Because they were not produced for the market, they tended to follow an even less formal pattern or to belong to any recognizable category. One of the interesting aspects of these manuscripts is their potential in shedding light upon individual Ottomans, thus calling attention to interesting questions such as what they enjoyed to read or recite to friends or what they found worthy of conservation. They could perhaps even contain indications for their thoughts or feelings. Such clues of the private life of manuscript owners are the more valuable since these people did not often, before the 19th century at least, write about themselves. Nevertheless the harvest so far has been disappointing. What we find in these more personal items are fragments of book-keeping, brief travel notes, remarks on the weather or historical events, quotations from official letters, notes about the birth and death of family members, and, more rarely, notes on books and a judgement of what was read. Remarks of an autobiographical nature that probe deeper below the surface have unfortunately not been found so far.[7]

II Examples

In what follows, I will present two manuscripts kept in the University Library in Leiden, one an example of a composite volume of the 'frozen library or archive' type, the other a MTM that is a, personal notebook.

1. MS Or. 644 (a composite volume)

The small volume, measuring 215x151 mm, containing 283 folios and comprising 77 separate distinctive textual units (for a complete list see appendix). The separate elements in the composite volume, which were collected and bound by, probably, an Ottoman scholar,[8] were drawn from various sources: texts, often fragmentary, are written in different hands on various types of paper, not all quite trimmed to the same size. Parts were cut out of some of the folios and some separate leaves were added by pasting. Others had pages which remained blank. The

7 See Jan Schmidt 2010, 159–70.
8 The volume is bound in boards decorated with Oriental marbled paper.

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latest dated contribution was made in 1059 H (1649 CE).[9] The manuscript was part of the Warner bequest and was shipped from Istanbul to Holland after Warner's death in 1665. (Levinus Warner was a scholar from Lippe, who had studied at Leiden University and was an envoy for the Dutch Republic to the Porte from 1654.) The manuscript reached Holland sometime between 1669 and 1673. Folio numbers were added later in an Ottoman hand, as was an (illegible) title on the bottom edge. An original survey of the contents with summary titles referring to the folio numbers occurs on the first fly-leaf (Fig. 1).

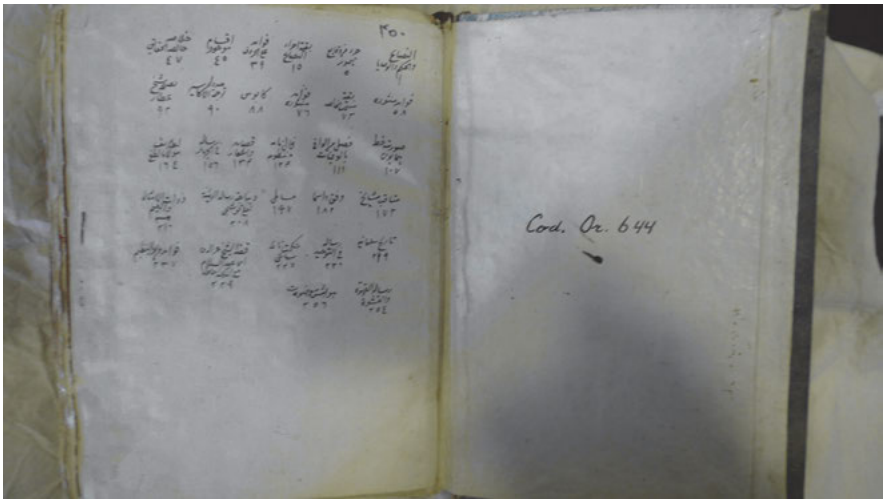

Fig. 1: Leiden University Library MS Or. 644, fly-leaf.

If we look at the texts themselves, we find the following genres and subjects: ethics and history, fragments from encyclopaedias and works on religion, Qur'anic science, traditions of the Prophet, jurisprudence, prayers, official letters and documents, poems, magic formulas and signs, fragments from almanacs, texts on mysticism and Sufis, alchemy, lexicography, prognostics, anecdotes, numerology, medicine (mostly prescriptions and recipes), astronomy, geometry and biography. A great number of the texts are part of small, separate MTMs. Forty out of the seventy-seven parts which make up the manuscript, some of which are no longer than a page or a folio, were compiled by different persons. Some of the

9 Henceforth, I will simply give the hijri and common era years without adding H and CE, respectively.

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units in the manuscript were already dated; whereas certain chronograms, documents, letters, and a few colophons had their dates added at some point after completion. These are found scattered throughout the manuscript and range in date from 994/1556–7 to 1059/1649.

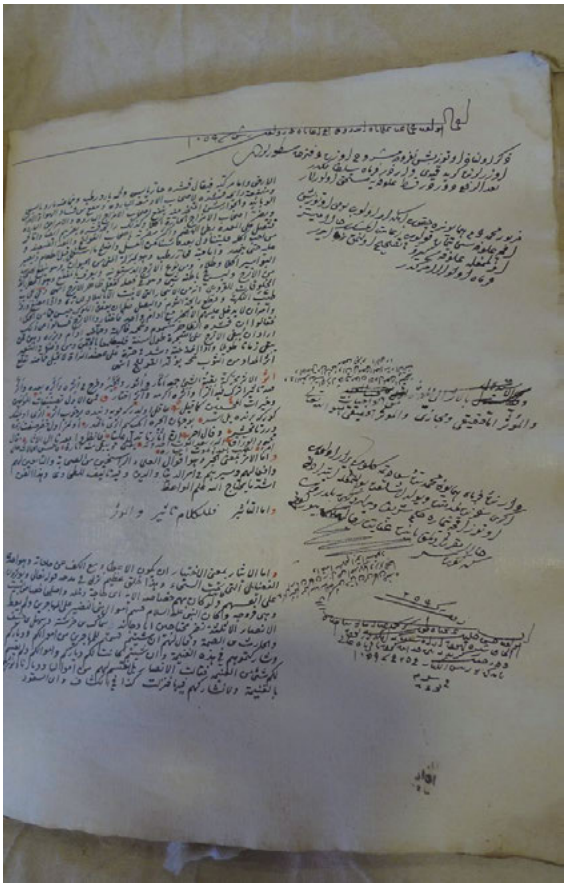

Fig. 2: Leiden University Library MS Or. 644, fol. 43b.

Additional notes and text fragments were added to the main units during a later phase. These later additions, which may even have been made after the volume had been bound, are some copies of documents found in the margin of fol. 43b (dated up to 1059/1649 – Figure 2), but perhaps also (a part of) the additional

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glosses and notes found in all parts of the manuscript. Only a few of these additions can be related to a name. The marginal texts on fol. 43b may have been copied into the manuscript by a soldier or officer called Mehmed, who was mentioned in two of the documents. These may have had the same origin as a petition found in part 21. Other documents mention a certain Ahmed b. Hasan, *müderris* (teacher) at a *medrese* in Istanbul (in part 11). An inscription of a Mevlānā ('molla') Kāsım occurs in part 36. More names of possible owners of (a part of) the manuscript are found in part 42, where, on fol. 188a, the birth of a boy called Yahya, son of a certain sheik Mehmed Çelebi Efendi, in 1054/1644 is recorded (Fig. 3). Finally there is Mehmed b. Sālih, whose seal – but the legend is difficult to read – is printed in part 71 on folia 244a and 249a (Fig. 4). These traces confirm that, at least some parts of the manuscript, had their origin with, or were collected by members of, what we might tentatively identify, as the (lower) middle class of Istanbul: soldiers, academics employed at the less prestigious schools, and a sheik.

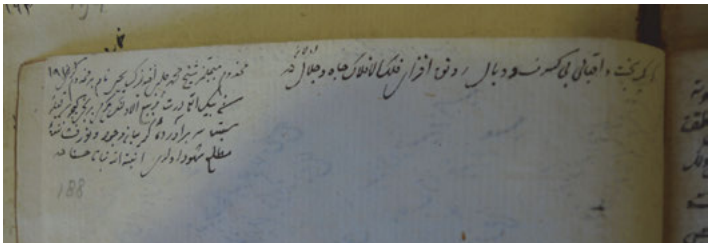

Fig. 3: Leiden University Library MS Or. 644, fol. 188a.

From this survey it can be concluded that the final compiler had been able to not only gather an extraordinarily wide range of texts (e.g. folia 91b–92a, Fig. 5) –of a mostly scholastic nature. These works were related to the '*Medrese-Wissenschaft*'[10] (scholarship practised in religious academies) that dominated book production in the Ottoman Empire. In addition some rare further undocumented texts, such as a *Seyahatname* ('Book of Travel') by a certain Feyzî (in 55 – fol. 216a, Fig. 6) and a *Hikmet-name* ('Book of Wisdom') by a certain Sa'î (in 63) were also included.

10 Oskar Rescher in the introduction to his translation of Taşköprüzade's *Miftāh es-sa'âde*, Stuttgart 1934, p. iv.

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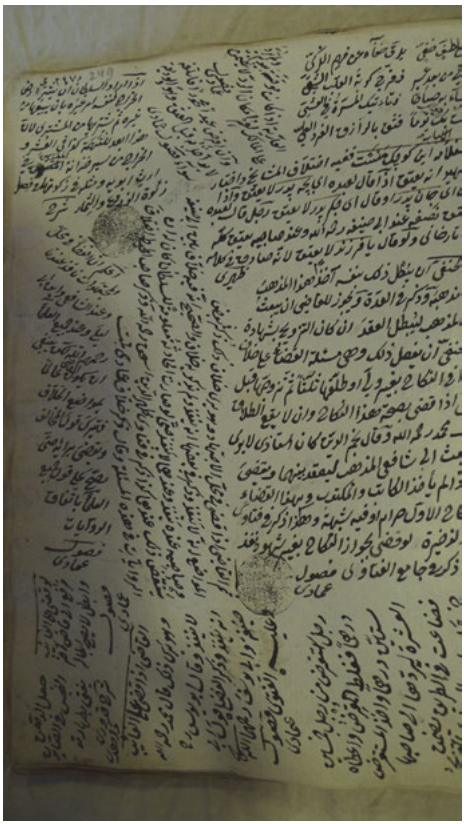

Fig. 4: Leiden University Library MS Or. 644, fol. 249a.

The question of the functionality of this manuscript does come to mind. Ottomanists and, in a wider sense, medievalists, have come forwards with various suggestions in regard to the function in society of the sort of miscellaneous texts we are discussing here. Thus one comes across the notions that texts are 'occurrences in a discourse of writing'[11] and of 'consultation literacy' (as a phase in the organisation of written information),[12] but could such concepts be applied to our manuscript? That seems hard to believe, if only for the multifarious, chaotic, haphazard and fragmentary nature of the units and the vague and incomplete way these were indexed.

11 See Victoria Rowe Holbrook 1994, 3.
12 See Marco Mostert 1995, 323–35.

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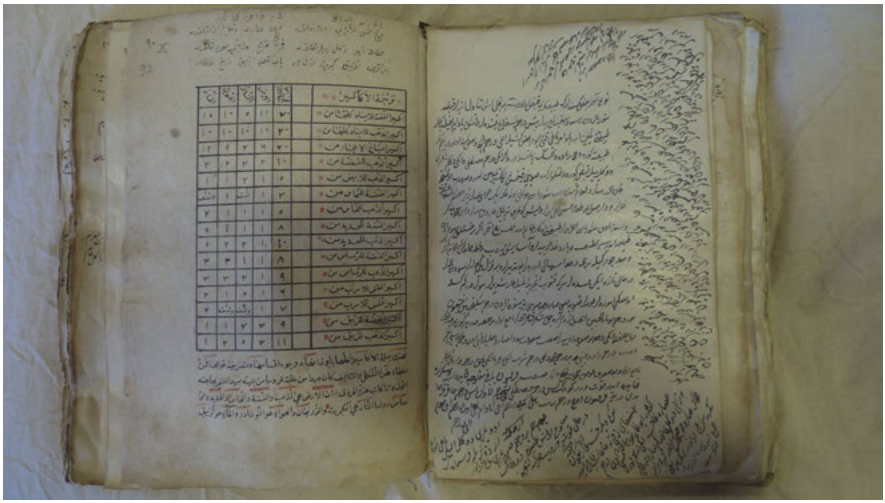

Fig. 5: Leiden University Library MS Or. 12.423, folia 91b–92a.

The fragmentary nature of some of the units raises further questions. It is unknown whether or not some of the source manuscripts had been wilfully destroyed in the process of compilation, or if they had previously suffered damage at an earlier date? There is no answer so far. There are indications that the cutting up of existing manuscripts would not always have been necessary: one could apparently buy separate quires of texts on the book market. An example of this is found in the Leiden collection in MS Or. 625, which was probably acquired by Warner in Istanbul in the same period. It consists of one quire, the first, of ten folios of Sarı ‘Abdullāh’s *Nasīhatu l-mülūk*,[13] a work in the ‘mirror for princes’ genre that was written during the same period – the author died in 1071/1661. One wonders whether this could point to a copying method known throughout Europe in the late Middle Ages whereby ‘master copies’ of handwritten books were divided into separate quires so that more than one copyist could do their copying work at the same time.[14] It is likely that the individual elements of our manuscript were acquired on the Istanbul book market, as Istanbul was the city most frequently encountered in the texts, among them in two colophons.[15] The compiler

13 The quire was probably bought for its exceptional artistic quality: fine paper, calligraphy and a beautiful headpiece. See for the author: Cl. Huart & Kathleen Burrill in EI, 2nd edition.

14 Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin 2010 (originally published in French, 1958), 21.

15 In parts 11, 21, 54, 58, 63 and 76.

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may have been a bookseller or perhaps a copyist, active in around 1650 who not long after its compilation sold the manuscript to Warner. One could also imagine that this bookseller or copyist, if he existed, had a penchant for collecting brief texts/quires and text fragments, such as a philatelist collecting rare stamps. Or perhaps he collected working materials for their usefulness and/or, rarity or uniqueness, rather than for reading or studying purposes. Separate quires from larger works would have had little use for any meaningful intellectual or scholarly activities. What the manuscript does demonstrate, however, is that the Ottoman literary culture between c.1550 and 1650, was perhaps richer than it was once conceived to be. There were texts available in Istanbul during that period, the existence of which we have so far been unaware (and were probably lost to later generations). A 'treasure trove of intellectual Ottoman history' indeed.

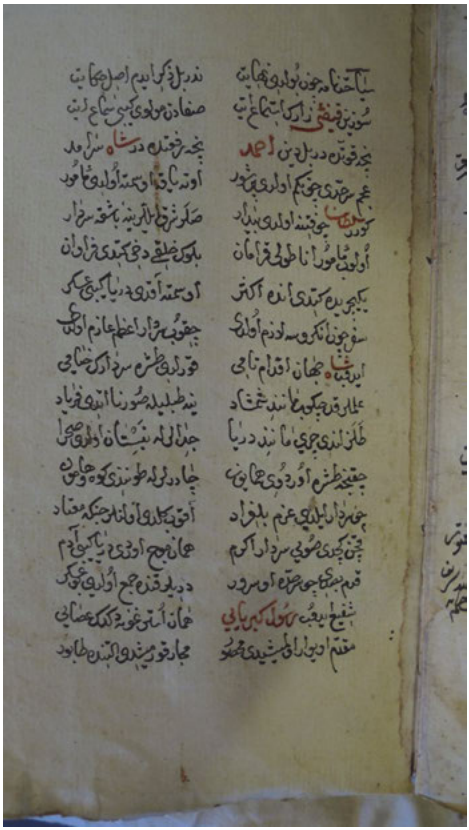

Fig. 6: Leiden University Library MS Or. 12.423, fol. 216a.

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2. Or. 12.423 (a MTM)

The second manuscript is a notebook filled with multiple annotations by various hands dating back to the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The manuscript measures 192 x 130 mm and comprises 169 folios. It was bought by the University Library from the estate of Franz Taeschner (1896–1967), a Turkologist who was a professor in Münster. Among the users/owners of the manuscript there, obviously, was a functionary called *kassam*, someone who was charged with the dividing up of estates of deceased members of the military class (*askeriye*) in the provinces of the Ottoman Empire for which he was entitled to a fee. Two notes on the birth of sons, called Mehmed, in 1107/1695 and 1122/1711 are found on fol. 161b (Fig. 7).

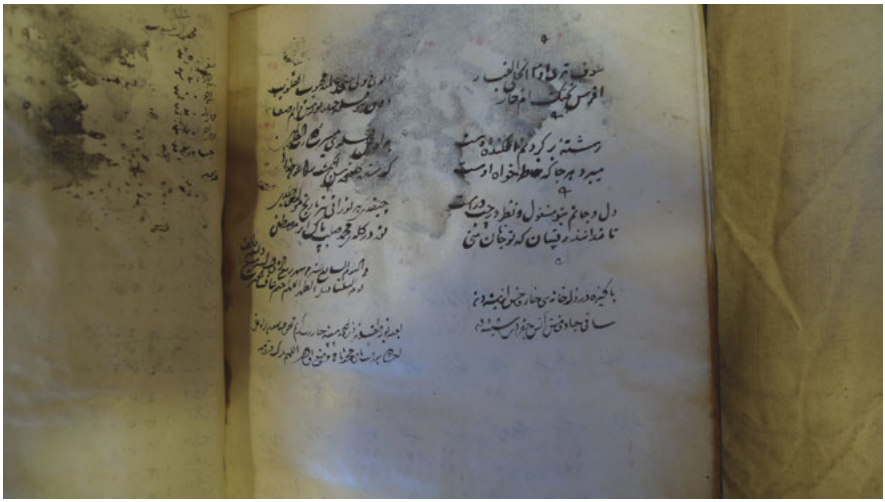

Fig. 7: Leiden University Library MS Or. 12.423, fol. 161b.

The manuscript was probably bought as a blank notebook – many pages have remained blank – and afterwards filled with notes. These notes were mostly of an administrative nature and found in alphabetically arranged tables of varying formats and in various hands, often written in a barely legible, tiny script lacking diacritics. These tables were clearly useful for the official when at work because they referred to provincial *kadis* (judges), with whom the *kassam* had to cooperate, and their postings in provincial towns. Some appointment dates were noted. This was important because a *kadi* did not normally remain in one place for very

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long. The years mentioned in the manuscript range from 1103/1691 to 1110/1699. Changes were added later in an ever tinier scrawl. We also find notes of a financial nature, such as sums of money, including the fees the *kassam* received from persons and institutions, lists of costs and salaries paid, inventories of goods sold and so forth (fol. 139a shows an administrative text with signatures and seal impressions of, among others, a *kassam* – Fig. 8). Folia 151b–152a, shows listing of the kadiships in some of the provinces of Rumelia and elsewhere – Fig. 9).

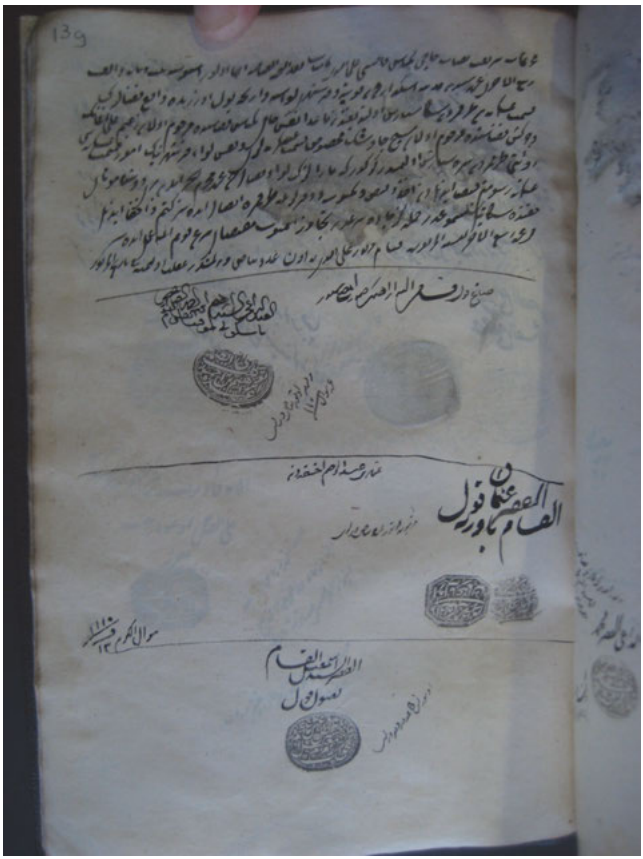

Fig. 8: Leiden University Library MS Or. 12.423, fol. 139a.

The most interesting part, however, is a collection of (anonymous) 'stories' written on 92 pages in the same hand. Figure 10 displays an example of a page with the ending of one and the beginning of another story, fol. 83b. Some of the tales

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are variants of stories from the 'Arabian Nights' cycle, which were originally written in Arabic, and other collections, but most of their origins remain unknown. The stories, all written in an idiosyncratic, often rhymed prose in long sentences, are set in various historical periods and diverse parts of the Islamic world. Most of them, however, are set within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, often in Istanbul. They sometimes mention historical protagonists such as an Ottoman sultan (Selim I) or the famous late sixteenth-century grand vizier Sinan Paşa as well as more historical figures like Iskender (Alexander the Great) and the Prophet Muhammed. Circumstantial evidence dates the stories to between the middle of the 16th century and 1108/1696–7. This specific year is mentioned in the first story. There is no common theme or thematic link between the stories. Most stories are clearly moralistic, as in the one portraying an extortionist Egyptian governor, who came to grief after being summoned to Istanbul. The moral of the story is clearly expressed overlined in red: 'May you be taught a lesson, you, office-holders!'. Why these particular stories occur in the notebook, is unclear. Whether written or copied by the *kassam* or another owner of the manuscript or a friend of theirs and whether or not they were ever recited, remains to this day unknown.[16]

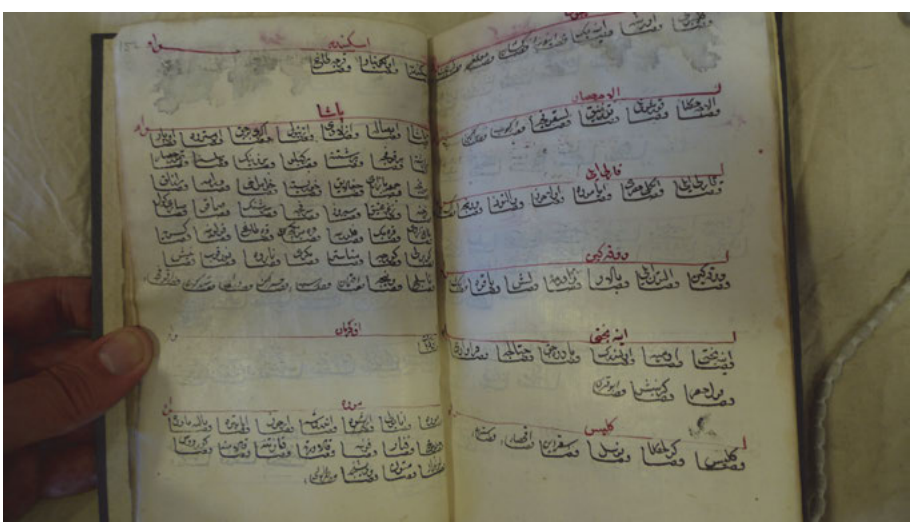

Fig. 9: Leiden University Library MS Or. 12.423, folia 151b–152a.

16 For an edition/translation of one of the stories, see: Edith Gülçin Ambros and Jan Schmidt, 2006, 297–324.

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Fig. 10: Leiden University Library MS Or. 12.423, fol. 83b.

Apart from the administrative annotations and the stories, copies of official letters and phrases to be used in such letters, poems, aphorisms, and a bibliomantic text (tool is perhaps a better word) as well as guidelines for influencing fate for various purposes; here one sees the first two pages (folia 62b–63a – Fig. 11).

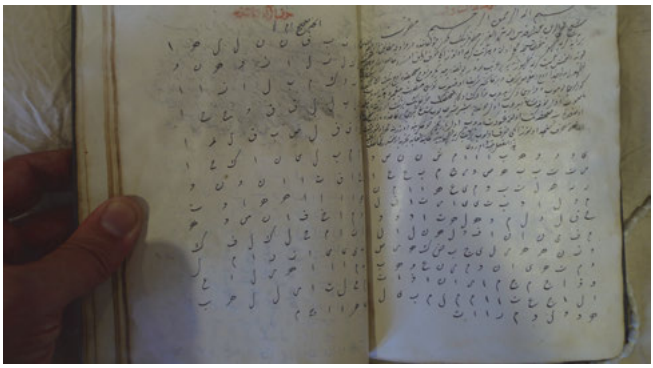

Fig. 11: Leiden University Library MS Or. 12.423, folia 62b–63a.

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The last datable text, written in the same hand as the stories, is a copy of a letter from Hacci Ahmed Paşa, governor of Baghdad, to the Porte informing it of the victorious military campaign of Topal Osman Paşa against the Safavids in 1146/1733 (on folia 3b–4a – Fig. 12).

The function of this manuscript is easier to describe than that of the case of the formerly discussed ‘frozen library’. Its two main purposes seem to have been that of an official almanac for an Ottoman official, and that of a collection of stories to be read or recited by, perhaps, a limited number of people acquainted to the manuscript’s owner. How this actually worked is not clear, because it is not explained in the manuscript.

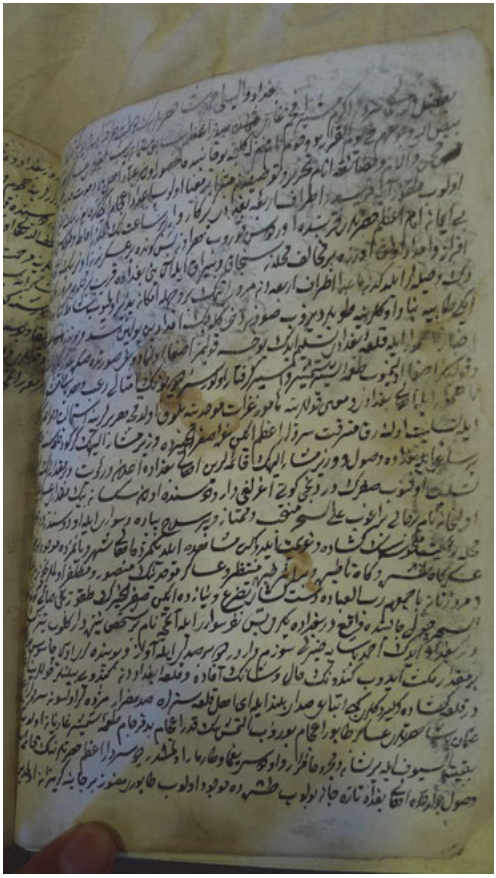

Fig. 12: Leiden University Library MS Or. 12.423, folia 3b–4a.

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5 Appendix

The Leiden Or. 644: description of the contents[17]

(1) An incomplete, anonymous text in prose interrupted by verse without title in Arabic on wisdom and pious advice, with a few marginal additions; rubrics in red; (2b–4b) – part of a quire of four folios, white and pale green paper (2–5)
(2) The opening pages of a Persian history, with marginal additions, on the Timurids: Sharaf ad-Din Yazdî's *Zafarnama-i Timurî* of 828 (1425–6) (6b–15b); Persian verses in the same hand are added on 6a – part of a quire of ten folios (6–15)
(3) Another, incomplete, part of (1), in the same handwriting and on similar paper; rubrics in red (16b–39b); additional Arabic text fragments are found on 16a – two quires of ten and twelve folios, respectively, with three disconnected additional leaves in the middle, white, pink and pale green paper (16–39)
(4) A fragment of an Arabic dictionary, with words beginning with *elif*; extensive marginal additions; rubrics in red (40a–43b); four fragmentary quotations on military matters in Turkish copied in chancery scripts from official documents and dated between c.1596 up to 1059 (1649), were added to the right margin of 43b – a quire of four folios (40–43)
(5) Three fragments in a similar hand of one or more Arabic works of an encyclopaedic character, with lengthy marginal additions and commentaries; rubrics in red (44a–47b) – four leaves (44–47)
(6) An Arabic encyclopaedic work, probably only a fragment thereof, on *hadith*, arranged according to certain chosen topics, like: wisdom, pilgrimage, woman, banquet, death, and so on, punctuated by verse; rubrics in red (48a–58b) – two quires of five (incomplete) and six folios respectively (48–59)
(7) Fragments of treatises, shorter notes and quotations, in prose (often *tefsir*, *hadith*, moralistic anecdotes, aphorisms, magic formulae) and verse, mostly in one hand resembling that of (6), but more casually executed, in Arabic with some Persian and Turkish; texts often chaotically put on paper, and occasionally crossed out later; rubrics in red on some pages (59a–74a). Arabic chronograms dated 991 (1583)

17 No complete description exists so far. I ignore the Roman numerals added, rather haphazardly, to various parts by a cataloguer and the numbering of individual items found in previous catalogues, particularly P. Voorhoeve's, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts (Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis* VII), Leiden 1980. Folio numbers refer to the pencil numbers added by a cataloguer. Parts containing Turkish texts have been described in my Turkish catalogue, Vol. I, pp. 168–185.

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to 998 (1589–90) are found on 63a; an Arabic chronogram on the succession of Sultan Selim II (in 974/1566) is found on 66b; a Turkish chronogram on the appointment of Kemal Efendi to *kazi'asker* of Anatolia in 1013 (1605)[18] is on 67a – two irregular quires of six and eight folios respectively (60–73); 59a–b belongs to the last quire of (6); 74a to the first quire of (8)
(8) Another part of (6) (74b–75b) – part of a quire of six folios (74–79)
(9) Various text fragments in Arabic on *hadith*, resembling the format of (6) and (8), but more casually written down, with additional remarks in very small script (76a–78a); a list of twelve especially blessed days and months is found on 77a – part of the same quire of six folios (74–79);
(10) Arabic notes in very casual script, mostly prayers with explanations (80a–b) – a leave of thick paper of smaller size pasted into the MS (80)
(11) Text fragments in Arabic and Turkish in various hands, particularly copies of documents concerning loans and appointments at various *medrese*s in Istanbul, dated between 994 (1585–6) and 1007 (1599) (81a–82b); the signature and the name the *müderris*, Ahmed b. Hasan of the *Medrese-i Kestel*,[19] is found in some of the documents; two leaves of the same size as in (10) (81–82)
(12) Notes, magic prescriptions, and verses, among them by a certain Remzî, in Arabic, Persian and Turkish in various, often hardly legible, hands (83a–84b) – two leaves of thick paper (83–84)
(13) Fragment of an almanac, with tables and texts in Arabic, Persian (with Turkish glosses) and Turkish – the years 936 [1529–30] and 1800 (*Rumî* style) are mentioned on 85s and 85b respectively (85a–86b) – another part is found on 196a–b – a quire of two folios of a much smaller size (85–86)
(14) Various text fragments, a prayer and verse, in Persian and Turkish, in one hand (87a) – a separate leaf (87)
(15) A brief, anonymous essay in Turkish on the seven types of successful mystics (*erenler*), based on the authority of Ibn al-Arabî (88a–89a) – a quire of two folios, coarse paper (88–89)
(16) A collection of medical recipes and prescriptions, Turkish, in one hand, possibly quotations from a manual, with marginal additions (90a–91b) – two leaves (90–91)
(17) Fragment of an Arabic work on elixirs, beginning with a table, in a neat *naskhî* hand; red rubrics (92a–92Ab) – a quire of two folios (92–92A)

18 Kemalüddin Mehmed Efendi, d. 10130 (1621), see Nuri Akbayar and Seyit Ali Kahraman 1996, 883.
19 Probably connected to the Mosque of Molla Kestel, see Baltacı 1976, 135.

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(18) A fragment of the popular Book of Advice (*nasihat*) ascribed to Attar, a Persian *mesnevî*, written in elegant *sülüs* (93a–96a) – a quire of six leaves (93–96)
(19) An anonymous rhymed Persian-Turkish vocabulary in ten chapters (*kat'as*), written in *ta'lik*; red rubrics (99a–105b) – a quire of six leaves, to which another leaf has been pasted (99–105)
(20) Some text fragments, mostly verses, among them chronograms on the death of Baka [in 1008/1600], in Arabic, Persian and Turkish in various hands (106a–107b) – a quire of two folios (106–107)
(21) Various text fragments in Turkish (an undated petition to the Sultan by *sipahi* troops on the estrangement of feudal land at the Edirne Gate in Istanbul; magic prescriptions and tables; written in a crude *şikeste* hand (108a–109b) – a quire of two folios of coarse, exceptionally unglazed, paper (108–109)
(22) A collection of Arabic and Persian verse fragments, roughly arranged according to subjects indicated in the margins of two columns, written in one irregular hand; red rubrics (110a–111b) – a folded sheet of paper (110–111)
(23) Fragments of an Arabic commentary discussing the various elements of proper names (112a–118a) – a quire of eight folios, two types of paper of a smaller size than the MS (112–119)
(24) Fragment of a Persian *mesnevî* (120a–b) – a separate leaf of thick paper (120)
(25) Opening pages of an anonymous Arabic commentary on a work of lexicology – the title, *Ifsah an anwar al-Misbah*, occurs in 122b:3–4 –; elegant *sülüs*, red rubrics (121b–124b) – a quire of four folios, glazed white and pale yellow paper (121–124)
(26) A copy, incomplete at the end, of a *falnama* in Persian, partly in verse, ascribed to the Imam Ja'far Sadiq (125b–134b) – a quire of ten folios, of smaller size (125–134)
(27) A collections of poems by Necatî Beg (d. 914/1509), written in coarse *divani* (135b–144b), preceded (on 135a) by some other Turkish poems in a different hand – a quire of ten folios, of slightly smaller size (135–144)
(28) A chaotic collection of text fragments in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, but mostly Turkish poems, written in various small hands (145a–154b); data on historical figures, including imams and Ottoman sultans, on 145b; a chronogram on the death of Gazi Hasan Paşa, dated 1011 (1602–3), is found on 153b – a quire of coarse, slightly glazed paper (145–154)
(29) Two text fragments on religious matters and a prayer in Arabic; Persian poems ascribed to various authors in a different hand (155a–156b) – two leaves (155–156)
(30) An anonymous Arabic prose text on the conquest of Rhodes [in 928/1522] – the title *Risale fi l-jihad* is found in the index – mostly devoted to the interpretation of pious chronograms (in red); interlinear and marginal corrections and additions, unfinished (157a–162a); preceded (on 157a, 164b) by various Arabic text fragments,

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mostly honorific titles and pious phrases, written in a different hand – a quire of eight folios (157–164)
(31) The opening pages of a rare work by Mevlana Lutfî, devoted to anecdotes (*letayıf*) concerning a certain Mevlana Uslı, who flourished during the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror (165b–166b),[20] preceded and followed (on 165a, 167a, and 168a), by Persian poems in the same hand – a quire of four folios (165–168)
(32) Fragment of pious text in Arabic and Persian in a coarse script (169b–172b); preceded by quotations in prose and verse, Arabic, Persian and Turkish, in the same hand (169a) – a quire of four folios (169–172)
(33) The opening pages of an Arabic hagiography (*menakıb*) of the saint Seyyid Mehmed el-Buharî, better known as 'Amir Sultan', of Bursa (d. 833/1429?),[21] by İbrahim b. Zeynüddin Hanbalizade [d. 983/1575]; red rubrics (173a–178b) – a quire of four folios (173–178)
(34) Arabic text fragments in one hand on religious matters, mostly questions with answers (179a–180b – two leaves of small format (179–180)
(35) *Gazel*s in Turkish by Şemsî and Hükmî (181a–b) – one leaf (181)
(36) Quotations in Persian and Turkish (Persian verse and a *gazel* by Gazi; an owner's inscription of Mevlana Kasım) (182a–b) – a separate leaf (182)
(37) A brief essay on numerology in Arabic, quoted from *Kitab al-Kashf*; small script, red rubrics (183a–b) – a separate leaf of fine paper (183)
(38) Model incantations and a magic prescription in Arabic and Turkish in one hand, with a list of names, arranged according to the four elements (184a–b) – a separate leaf (184)
(39) A prayer prescription in Arabic attributed to sheik Ahmed el-Buni, two tables, later crossed out (185a) – a separate leaf of fine paper (185)
(40) Magic prescriptions in Arabic in various hands, among them the handwriting found in (39), with a table; red rubrics (186a–b) – a separate leaf of fine paper (186)
(41) Quotations in Arabic and Persian in one hand, among them a fragment from a history of Jerusalem and two medical prescriptions for avoiding infection by the plague (187a–b) – a small, separate leaf (187)
(42) A collection of quotations, mostly, Arabic poems, among these items attributed to Abu Nuwas, the *sheikülislam* Ali b. Carullah and sheik Mahmud Efendi, in various hands (188b–193b); a note in Turkish on the birth of Yahya, son of sheik Mehmed Çelebi Efendi on 21 *Rebi'ülevvel* 1054 [28 May 1644] is found on 188a – a part of a quire, six folios of paper of different qualities (188–193)

20 The work is known as *Uslu Şüca' Münazarası* or *Harname*, see for further details: Günay Kut, 2005, 524.
21 See Nihat Azamat, "Emîr Sultan", in *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 11 (1995).

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(43) A letter in Turkish, addressed to a scholar, in which the sender describes a dream, which took place on 3 *Ramazan* 1009 (8 March 1601), in which he offered a commentary on a work of jurisprudence by Seyyid Alizade to Ebussu'ud Efendi (d. 982/1574) in Edirne (194b); Persian and Turkish verse in the same hand on 194a; gold-dusted *ta'līk* – a separate leaf (194)
(44) Arabic texts, mostly poetry (195a–b); reference to the title, *Iqd ath-thamin wa aqd al-yamin*, compiled by sheik Qutbaddin, in upper margin of 195b – a separate leaf of unglazed paper (195)
(45) Fragment of an almanac with tables (see 13, above) (196a–b) – a separate leaf (196)
(46) A collection of various recipes in Turkish, written in careless *şikeste* (197a) on paper meant to be used as an inventory of books (the word *kiaāb* in red is found in three columns on both side of the folio) – a separate leaf (197)
(47) Text fragments in Arabic and Turkish, mostly fatwas signed by Ahmed (198a–201b) – a quire of four folios (198–201)
(48) A chaotic collection of Arabic text fragments on religious matters in crude *şikeste*; a few rubrics in red (202a–204b) – an incomplete quire of three folios (202–204)
(49) A similar collection as in (48), partly in the same hand (205a–206b, 207b) – three leaves of fine glazed paper (205–207)
(50) An Arabic poem (a *tahmis* by Es'ad Efendi) (208b) – a separate, small leaf (208)
(51) The preface (*dibaja*) to the Persian treatise, *Risala [fi] al-Hay'at*, by Ali Kuşcı (d. 879/1474);[22] the text breaks off with the red rubric '*muqaddima*' in the middle of the page, but continues with another sentence in a different hand (209a–b) – a separate leaf (209)
(52) Arabic text fragments in one hand (among them a brief treatise on the meaning of gnosis according to the four main creeds, 210a, and a list of religious concepts, with explanations, 210b), red rubrics (210a–b) – a separate leaf (210)
(53) A brief guide, in Arabic, with tables containing key words enabling one to distinguish between *dhawat al-amthal* and *dhawat al-qayyim*, ascribed to Tajaddin b. Tahir b. Mahmud (211a–212a) – a quire of two folios (211–212)
(54) A chaotic collection of quotations in Arabic and Turkish in one hand, mostly copies of legal documents (issued, at least partly, in Istanbul), verses ascribed to cadis, medical and magic prescriptions, and fatwas (213a–215b) – a leaf and a quire of two folios of coarse paper (213–215).

22 See the article by P. Hardy in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition.

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(55) The final part of a *mesnevî* poem in Turkish: the (undocumented) *Seyahat-name* by Feyzî, describing a Hungarian campaign and the fall of Ostörġon (Esztergom) [probably in 1004/1595] (216a–217b) – a quire of two folios (216–217)
(56) A collection of Arabic sayings attributed to Muhammad and other authorities, mostly on the various types of *dhikr*; rubrics in red (218a–219b) – a quire of two folios (218–219)
(57) Text fragments in Arabic and Turkish in various hands, mostly medical recipes and prescriptions (220a–b) – a separate leaf (220)
(58) Two Turkish texts: a lengthy chronogram by Yahya on the completion of the Süleymaniye complex in Istanbul (in 964/1556–7), and a decree by the sultan issued to Kasım Lâlâ, instructor to Prince Mustafā (dated 940/1534) (221a–b) – a separate, small leaf (221)
(59) The first pages of a treatise in Turkish on mysticism by Konevî Efendi (mentioned in the upper margin); marginal additions and corrections, red rubrics (222b–223b); preceded by various notes in Arabic and Turkish, with tables, later erased (222a) – a quire of two folios (222–223)
(60) A prayer in Arabic, partly rhymed, in three columns (224a–b) – a separate leaf (224)
(61) Texts fragments in Arabic, mostly *hadith*, with glosses, in one hand, red rubrics (225a–b) – a separate leaf (225)
(62) A collection of recipes in Turkish in various hands (226a–b) – a separate leaf (226)
(63) A *mesnevî* poem in Turkish, the (undocumented) *Hikmetname* by Sa'î, copy in three columns, with headings in red, completed at the *medrese* of Rüstem Paşa[23] in Istanbul in 1015 (1607) (227b–229b) – three leaves (227–229)
(64) A collection of recipes, probably originally part of (61) (230a–b) – a separate leaf (230)
(65) A fragment of an Arabic prose work, probably a biographical dictionary of *ulama*, 7/13th century or later; red rubrics (231a–232b) – a quire of two folios (231–232)
(66) A collection of Arabic phrases, with additional notes in different hands (233b–234b) – a quire of two folios (233–234)
(67) An essay in Turkish on geometric measures and the circumference of the earth, based on *Menazıru l-awalim*, with additional notes in various hands; red rubrics (235a–b) – a separate leaf (235)

23 See Baltacı 1976, 343–6.

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(68) Text fragments in Turkish, mostly short poems (*kat'as*); a copy of a letter of manumission issued by a Janissary officer called Yahya, in neat, gold-dusted *ta'lik* is found on 236a (236a–b) – a separate leaf (236)
(69) Quotations in Arabic from works on rhetoric, prayers and *tafsīr*, two model letters ascribed to Hına'izade Efendi and Tursunzade Efendi, and verse, mostly in one hand; red rubrics (237a–242b); model colophons, one dated 969 (1561–2), another mentioning the city of Sofia, occur on 238b; red rubrics – a quire of six folios (237–242)
(70) Quotations in Arabic in various hands, partly from a work by Fakhraddin Razi (mentioned in the upper margin, 243a); red dots on 243a (243a–b) – a separate leaf (243)
(71) Arabic text fragments in various hands, mostly from a biographical dictionary of Ottoman *ulema* and collections of fatwas (244a–251b) – two quires of six and two folios respectively (244–251)
(72) Arabic and Turkish text fragments, mostly *hadith* and jurisprudence, in various hands; calligraphic inscriptions on 252a ascribed, in glosses, to well-known artists (252a–254b) – an incomplete quire of three folios (252–254)
(73) Arabic texts quoting Mawlana Khusraw, with additional fragments and glosses, in one hand (255a–256b) – a quire of two folios of smaller paper (255–256)
(74) A glossary of magic words with explanations in Arabic (black and red ink), and a table of magic signs ascribed to the pen of Milayanus al-Hakim (257a–b) – a separate leaf (257)
(75) Questions and answers on religious matters in Turkish, attributed in part to Ebussu'ud Efendi (258a–b); neat, small *ta'līk* – a separate, small leaf (258)
(76) A digression in Arabic on the drinking of coffee by sheik Bedrüddin el-Hakim el-Kosofî, physician to Sultan Süleyman; copied in Istanbul at the beginning of *Şa'ban* 1022 (6 September 1614) (259a–262a), followed by Turkish fatwas signed by Ebussu'ud (262a–b) – a quire of four folios, irregularly cut (259–262)
(77) Excerpts in Arabic from an encyclopaedia of sciences, *Miftah as-sa'ada wa misbah as-siyada*,[24] by Muslihuddin Mustafa Taşköprüzade [d. 968/1561] (263b–281a); preceded by more quotations, probably from the same work, but later erased (263a), and followed by an inventory of names of men, arranged alphabetically (281b–282b); rubrics in red – two quires of ten folios each (263–282).

24 See the edition by Kamil Bakrî and Abd al-Wahhab Abu an-Nur, 4 Vols. Cairo 1968, e.g. I, p. 73, which resembles fol. 263.

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Florinda De Simini

Śivadharma Manuscripts from Nepal and the Making of a Śaiva Corpus

1 Manuscript transmission of the 'Śivadharma corpus': An overview

This article aims at examining the process of corpus formation from a codicological perspective in an early body of Śaiva literature for the laity. This collection, commonly known to specialists as the 'Śivadharma corpus', grew around two more ancient works, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, until forming a fixed set of eight or nine texts that is widely attested in Nepalese multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs), both ancient palm-leaf and more recent paper copies. While the two earliest works have an independent and well documented transmission history in India, the formation of a 'corpus' as we know it seems to be an invention of Nepal. The Nepalese MTMs, the sole documents in which the Śivadharma corpus is attested, are responsible not only for the preservation and transmission of this innovation, but also for its own identity as a corpus. I am not aware of any strong evidence external to the manuscript tradition that could be used to confirm that these eight texts had in fact formed a closed collection, and very rarely do the works make explicit reference to each other (one case is examined in par. 3 of this study). It is therefore essentially on account of the features of the Nepalese manuscript tradition that one can rightly resort to the category of 'corpus' with reference to this collection of works.

I am very grateful to Peter Bisschop, Harunaga Isaacson, Alexis Sanderson and Francesco Sferra for having read a draft of this article and helping me to improve it with their valuable observations. I furthermore thank all the organisers of the workshop *Multiple-Text Manuscripts in Multiple Manuscript Cultures* (Universität Hamburg, Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures, January 24–25, 2014) for giving me the opportunity to present the paper of which this article is a fully revised and enlarged version. My thanks also go to the editors of the volume for carefully reading my contribution and advising me on how to refine it, and to Kristen de Joseph for her help in revising the English text.
The research outlined in the next pages is part of a preparatory work aimed at establishing a critical edition of the *Śivadharmottara*. I would like to use this opportunity to express my gratitude to all the institutions that granted me access to their manuscript collections, and without

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The *Śivadharmaśāstra*, ('Treatise on Śaiva Religion') and the *Śivadharmottara* ('Continuation [of the Treatise] on Śaiva Religion'), both in twelve chapters, are among the earliest extant specimens of prescriptive literature addressed to lay Śaiva devotees. The environment that produced these two texts was clearly connected with the non-Tantric Śaiva traditions, as shown by internal references and further supported by the *argumentum ex silentio* of the absence of Tantric elements.[1] Nonetheless, it can be argued that these texts were

the help of which this work could not even have been conceived. In particular, I thank the people at the 'Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project' (2002–2014), especially Harunaga Isaacson and Kengo Harimoto from the University of Hamburg, Asien-Afrika-Institut, and Namraj Gurung from the *Nepal Research* Centre, for their help in finding references and obtaining reproductions of microfilms, as well as high-quality colour pictures. My thanks also go to the team of the project 'The intellectual and religious traditions of South Asia as seen through the Sanskrit manuscript collections of the University Library, Cambridge' (2011–2014), headed by Vincenzo Vergiani (University of Cambridge, Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies), for granting me access to the manuscripts of the collection and providing hospitality during my research stay there. I furthermore thank Elena Mucciarelli (University of Tübingen), the staff of the Bodleian Library-Special Collection Reading Room (Oxford), of the Wellcome Library-Rare Materials Room (London) and of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London) — in particular Edward Weech — for their impeccable assistance. My thanks also go to the personnel of the Adyar Library and Research Centre (Chennai) and the Saraswathi Mahal Library (Thanjavur).
In February–April 2013 I received a three-month postdoctoral research grant from the Jan Gonda Fund Foundation in order to carry out a research project on the Nepalese transmission of the Śivadharma corpus at the International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden.

1 As argued by Bisschop (2010, 485), these texts could be considered, like the *Skandapurāṇa*, a 'third segment' of the Pāśupata community, reflecting the needs and worldview of groups of uninitiated, non-ascetic devotees. On the Pāśupata background of the original *Skandapurāṇa*, see Bakker 2014, 137 foll.
As an example, we may refer to the 12th and last chapter of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* ('On the primary and secondary branches of the devotion to Śiva' *Śivabhaktyādyaśākhopaśākhādhyāya*), containing norms of behaviour for *śivayogin*s and lay followers that in many points recall the prescriptions for the Pāśupata observance. The same chapter also gives a list of forty sacred places arranged in five groups of eight, well-known in Śaiva literature as the *pañcāṣṭaka* (on which see Sanderson 2003–04, 403–406; Goodall 2004, 314–316, fn. 620; Bisschop 2006, 27–34). While later Tantric sources present a more developed theology of the *aṣṭaka*s, in which the *pañcāṣṭaka* corresponds to a hierarchy of worlds matching the five different realities (*tattva*s), the *Śivadharmaśāstra* significantly lacks this feature, a circumstance that hints at the earliness of its account (Sanderson 2003–2004, 405). This list of sacred places has clear connections with the Pāśupata tradition, as shown by the mention of toponyms like Āṣāḍhi, Ḍiṇḍimuṇḍi, Bhārabhūti and Lakulīśvara, corresponding to the last four incarnations of Śiva at Kārohaṇa (Gujarat), the alleged site of the Pāśupata revelation according to the *Skandapurāṇa* (167.118–149). Expanding on these arguments, on the basis of textual evidence internal and external to the original

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considered authoritative also by initiated Śaivas of the Mantramārga (the 'Path of Mantras'); later works of the corpus, moreover, show textual connections with Tantric literature.[2] Cornerstones of the religious observance prescribed for lay followers by the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* were devotion (*bhakti*) towards Śiva, mostly worshipped in the form of a *liṅga*, and material support offered to the religious community through the practice of *dāna* (lit. 'gift'). The fulfilment of these deeds granted the devotees the enjoyment of mundane and ultramundane rewards, which would eventually lead them to a rebirth on earth as kings or Brahmins.

The title *Śivadharmottara* in and of itself establishes a chronological sequence as well as a doctrinal connection between the two works, suggesting that this text followed the same tradition as the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and was arguably composed later. Critical editions of both works have been announced more than once,[3] but nothing has been concretely achieved so far.[4] The two

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Skandapurāṇa, Bisschop argues that 'most, if not all, of the forty sites listed belonged to the Pāśupata tradition' (2006, p. 34).

2 On both these points, see Sanderson forthc. b, 88.

3 Giorgio Bonazzoli and Paolo Magnone have reportedly been engaged in editing the *Śivadharmottara* (see Bonazzoli 1993 and Magnone 2005). Magnone's 2005 study quotes from a text established on the basis of a collation between two manuscripts (referred to as Kathmandu no. 1, 1975/VI, 43 and Thanjavur no. B1725/D10555), to which a few other Devanāgarī transcripts and Grantha manuscripts were added 'at places' (Magnone 2005, 575, fn. 1). His disregard of the earliest palm-leaf materials results in an incorrect dating of the text, for which Magnone seems to suggest the 12th century as *terminus post quem* (see 2005, 591), considerably later than the earliest attested manuscripts.

Long summaries of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* were published by Hazra (1983 and 1985, originally appeared in 1952 and 1953), who also tried to speculate on the date and provenance of the texts.

4 A partly handwritten transcription of the so-called 'Śivadharma corpus', with a partial commentary, appeared in Nepal with a commentary of Yogī Naraharinātha (1998). This text is not provided with a critical apparatus nor with an introduction, and is probably just the transcript of one of the many Nepalese manuscripts, to which the editor silently added his own conjectures. A comparable case is that of the printed edition of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* that very recently appeared for the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series (see Jugnu 2014): the editor accompanies the Sanskrit text with a Hindī commentary and a few explanatory notes, only providing a very generic reference in the preface to the use of a manuscript from Adyar (Jugnu 2014, IX), whose variants are sometimes reported in the footnotes; he, however, does not further discuss the philological criteria which have been followed in establishing the text. As Peter Bisschop kindly informed me in a personal communication, the variants adopted by the editor turn out to be identical with the readings of the Pondicherry transcript T32 (for which see Appendix II), which was copied from a manuscript held in Kilvelur. Besides providing an original introduction in Hindī, the editor also reprinted Hazra 1985 (Jugnu 2014, XI–XXX).

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texts are thus still little studied, so that attempts at placing them in time and space have to be considered provisional. Recent developments in this field of study, however, allow us to justly believe that progress will be made within the next few years.[5] Taking into consideration the broader context of the early Śaiva milieu, a tentative dating from the 6th to the 7th century has been considered plausible.[6]

A combination of the direct evidence of the manuscript transmission (for which see Appendix II) and the indirect evidence consisting of references and quotations from these works in later textual sources — both literary and epigraphical — convincingly demonstrates that these two texts were widely known all over India in medieval times. This sort of evidence proves their knowledge in various Indian regions like Kashmir,[7]

5 Useful introductions on the topic can be found in Sanderson forthc. a, 3–10, and forthc. b, 82–90. Critical editions of portions of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* are currently being prepared by Peter Bisschop (Leiden University) and Nina Mirnig (Austrian Academy of Sciences). The former is working on a critical edition of chapter 6 (*Śāntyadhyāya*), containing a long *mantra* for the performance of the Great Appeasement rituals (*mahāśānti*), which due to its contents and ritual uses had a peculiar transmission history (see Bisschop 2014 and *infra*). Mirnig is working on chapters 1–5 and 7–9, within the framework of broader research on *liṅga*-worship in early Śaivism. As for the *Śivadharmottara*, I have prepared a critical edition of its second chapter (*Vidyādānādhyāya*) for a study on the cult of the book in Hindu sources (see De Simini 2013 and forthc.); this edition will appear alongside chapters one, three and four, and a comprehensive study of the manuscript tradition. As for the other texts belonging to the Śivadharma corpus, a critical edition of the first three chapters of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* was the topic of the doctoral thesis of Anil Kumar Acharya (Institut Français de Pondichéry), still awaiting publication (Acharya 2009); a critical edition of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, chapters 5–9, has moreover been presented by Nirajan Kafle in the appendix of his doctoral thesis (Kafle 2015). Acharya and Kafle are also engaged in preparing a critical edition of the *Dharmaputrikā* (personal communication). The study of works from this corpus is also one of the aims pursued by the European Research Council Synergy Grant 'Beyond Boundaries: Region, Language and the State' (2014–2019), hosted at the British Museum, British Library and SOAS.

6 As in Bisschop 2010, 483, fn. 35.

7 For the evidence provided by the Kashmiri manuscripts of these works, see Appendix II. Knowledge of the *Śivadharmottara* in Kashmir is also testified by the literal quotations and textual reuses traceable in the 30th chapter of the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, a Śaiva work of the 13th century ascribable to the Kashmiri author Jayadratha. This chapter is a brief compendium of the *Śivadharmottara*, since almost the entirety of its verses are based on lose or literal parallels from this earlier Śaiva work (on this and more parallels from the *Śivadharmottara* traced in later literature, see De Simini forthc.).

As evidence for the knowledge of the Śivadharma in Kashmir, Sanderson (forthc. b, 84) also adduces verse 511cd of the Kashmiri *Nīlamatapurāṇa,* presumably composed during the period of the Karkoṭa dynasty (7th–8th century); this verse prescribes as a duty of Śaiva devotees during the

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Bengal,[8] Tamil Nadu[9] and Karnataka.[10] As shown by Sanderson, a quotation from the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is also traceable in a 10th century Old Khmer inscription, thus pointing at the knowledge of this text also overseas.[11]

With the sole exception of the Bengali manuscripts, in which the two texts are associated, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* have been transmitted in India by means of independent single-text manuscripts, although sources quoting from both texts (like the Talagunda inscription mentioned in fn. 10) do testify that these works were considered culturally and traditionally related. Moreover, an overall look at the extant Indian manuscripts demonstrates that these are fairly recent, postdating the earliest indirect pieces of evidence provided by southern inscriptions. The situation changes dramatically once we turn our attention to the far North.

The fundamental contribution of Nepal to the preservation of a high quantity of manuscripts, among which are a number of precious early palm-leaf sources, does not need further remarks for scholars of classical indology. For the non-specialist, it suffices here to say that, due to favorable geographical and climatic reasons, the extant manuscript production from this area is ear-

annual Śivarātri festival the listening to recitations of the *śivadharmāḥ*. The word is here used in the plural, which is a usual way to refer to the teachings contained in these works; as Sanderson argues, the use of the plural may also refer to the 'corpus headed by the *Śivadharmaśāstra*'.

8 Long passages from *Śivadharmottara*'s chapters 1, 2 and 12 have been copied or readapted by the *Devīpurāṇa*, which most likely originates from Bengal, in chapters 91, 127 and 128 of the Devanāgarī edition. The *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* are moreover attested in two manuscripts in Bengali script, for which see Appendix II.

9 For manuscript evidence from the Tamil-speaking regions, see Appendix II. The knowledge of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* in the South during the Middle Ages is furthermore testified by indirect tradition: the southern *Uttarakāmika* reuses *Śivadharmottara*'s second chapter in its chapter 67, and quotations from the *Śivadharmottara* are available in the ritual manual (*paddhati*) titled *Jñānaratnāvalī* by Jñānaśiva (second half of the 12th century). The *Śivadharmottara* is moreover amply quoted by Vedajñāna II in his 'Ritual Manual of Private Worship' (*Ātmārthapūjāpaddhati*, 16th century).
As regards the testimony of inscriptions, to the best of my knowledge the earliest epigraph from this area witnessing public readings of a *Śivadharma* is ascribed to the reign of Rājendra Coḷa I (r. 1012–1044 CE), as in ARE no. 214 of 1911 (appeared as ARE no. 919, 16).

10 Among the evidence for the knowledge of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* in Karnataka, a bilingual Kannada-Sanskrit inscription from the Prāṇaveśvara temple in Talagunda (Rice 1902, EC VII, Skt. 185), dated to 1157 CE, not only quotes stanzas from the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, but also refers to ritual procedures taught in the *Śivadharmottara*, like the public reading of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s sixth chapter (*Śāntyadhyāya*). For a more in-depth study of this epigraph, see De Simini forthc.

11 Sanderson forthc. b, 86, fn. 222.

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ly,[12] abundant and, in certain cases, shows continuity over the course of time, a combination of circumstances that have considerably contributed to our knowledge of Indic texts and textual transmission. In the case of the works under investigation, the importance of their Nepalese transmission does not only lie in the circumstance that their earliest specimens are attested there (see below), nor in the abundance and continuity of this tradition, which counts more than sixty manuscripts ranging from old palm-leaf to recent paper ones. There is in fact more to this: since their earliest attestations in Nepalese manuscripts, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* have been constantly arranged in MTMs containing up to eight works on Śaiva topics. The set of works contained in these manuscripts is fixed, apart from some oscillations concerning their number, and the arrangement tends to follow a fixed pattern.

The titles of the works thus transmitted are, according to one of their most common arrangements:

Śivadharmaśāstra	'Treatise on Śaiva Religion'
Śivadharmottara	'Continuation [of the Treatise] on Śaiva Religion'
Śivadharmasaṃgraha	'Compendium of Śaiva Religion'
Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda	'Dialogue Between Umā and the Great Lord'
Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda	'Great Dialogue [Made of] Questions and Answers'
Śivopaniṣad	'Essential Teachings of Śiva'
Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha	'Compendium of the Essence of the Bull [of Dharma]'[13]
Dharmaputrikā	'Daughter[14] of Dharma'

12 Harimoto 2011, 87–90, points out that the earliest verifiable dated manuscript from Nepal is Kesar 699, NGMPP C 80/7, *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, dated to April 13, 878 CE, alongside a *Skandapurāṇa* manuscript (NAK 2–299, NGMPP B11/4) dated to March 10, 811 CE and used as S^1 in the critical edition of the 'original *Skandapurāṇa*'. He further points out that among the earliest pieces of the Nepalese collections are a manuscript of the *Daśabhūmīśvarasūtra* (NGMPP A 38/5 and A 39/13), possibly ascribable to the 6th century, and a few more fragments, including the oldest Pāli manuscript, that could be contemporary or even earlier than the *Daśabhūmīśvarasūtra* manuscript (Harimoto 2011, 93–95 and fn. 6).

13 As noted by Sanderson (forthc. b, 83, fn. 203), this title can have a double meaning, since the 'bull' (*vṛṣa*) is both a synonym of 'religious practice' and the traditional mount (*vāhana*) of Śiva. For a possibly comparable reading of the figure of the bull in iconography, see Bakker 2014, 68–69, dealing with some seals attributed to the Maukhari dynasty. As recalled by Bakker, the story of the bull becoming Śiva's mount is recounted in *Skandapurāṇa* 33.102–129.

14 The term *putrikā* is mostly used for denoting a daughter who is charged by her sonless father with the duty of raising a male offspring. These sons, though born to her husband, are to be legally considered as their grandfather's direct male descendants. The *Manusmṛti* defines the institution of the *putrikā* at 9.127–128 and warns against marrying one at 3.11.

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In all Nepalese MTMs, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* are significantly placed at the beginning, immediately followed by the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*. This work recalls the first two texts by title and structure, since the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* is also divided into twelve chapters.[15] Another constant is the presence of the *Dharmaputrikā* in the last place, as well as the sequence *Śivadharmasaṃgraha-Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, which is however not always respected in earlier manuscripts, where the *Śivopaniṣad* can instead be placed immediately after the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (see below the arrangement of ULC Add. 1645).

As observed above, the existence of such MTMs transmitting this collection of works, which have been referred to as the 'Śivadharma corpus', has so far proven to be a peculiarity pertaining only to the Nepalese region. Moreover, none of the other six works seems to have been transmitted outside Nepal, except at a late date.[16] That the six works added to the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, or some of them, could have been produced in Nepal as a response to the vast popularity attained by Śaivism in this region during the Middle Ages (see par. 4) must by now be considered nothing more than a working hypothesis.[17] A deeper knowledge of the texts of the collection, anticipated from ongoing and future studies, will have to prove this hypothesis true or false.

What is culturally significant is that the choice of MTMs was clearly prevalent in medieval times: of the approximately eighteen still extant Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts attesting the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* — distributed among the collections of the Kathmandu libraries (above all the National Archives and the Kesar Library), the University Library of Cambridge, the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, the Bodleian Library of Oxford, the Universitätsbibliothek of Tübingen[18] and the Collège de France in Paris — seventeen transmit them in

15 The other works of the collection are of different lengths: the shortest ones are the *Śivopaniṣad* (seven chapters) and the *Dharmaputrikā* (16 short chapters). The number of chapters of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* varies from a minimum of 20 to a maximum of 24 — 21 being the most frequently attested quantity in early palm-leaf manuscripts (see *infra* fn. 34 for a discussion). The *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* has ten chapters, while the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* 24.

16 The *Adyar Library Catalogue*, for instance, lists a paper transcript of the *Śivopaniṣad* (Pandits of the Adyar Library vol. 1, p. 103). This transcript may have been the basis for the printed edition of the *Śivopaniṣad* published in Adyar (Kunhal Raja 1933).

17 Note that a Nepalese origin for the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* has been already put forward as a hypothesis by Diwakar Acharya (Zotter 2013, 274). I owe this reference to Nina Mirnig in a personal communication.

18 I thank Harunaga Isaacson for drawing my attention to the existence of this manuscript, described as Ma I 582.

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MTMs together with the aforementioned works.[19] The only possible exception in the Nepalese tradition among the earliest materials seems to be a fragmentary palm-leaf manuscript of forty-two folios attesting the *Śivadharmottara* (NAK 5-892, NGMPP A 12/3). This is a very significant piece of evidence, since it is the earliest extant manuscript of a text belonging to the Śivadharma collection, dateable on palaeographical grounds from the late 9th to early 10th century. It is severely damaged, and its bad state of preservation makes it difficult to prove with certainty that it was not part of a broader collection of texts. Damages in the margins prevent one from reading the page numbers; the beginning point is not extant, but the last page of the *Śivadharmottara* is preserved, which makes it possible to observe that this work was not immediately followed by another one, at least not directly on the same folio.

The production of palm-leaf manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus, of which NAK 5-892 (NGMPP A 12/3) is the first attested specimen, will cover a time span of at least six centuries, since the latest dated palm-leaf copy of our texts known so far is ascribed to NS (*nepālasaṃvat*) 516, corresponding to 1395–96 CE.[20] Nepa-

19 Palm-leaf MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus are: NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4); ASC G 4077 (cat. no. 4084); ULC Add. 1645; NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3); NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3=A 1082/2); Bodl. Or. B 125; NAK 5–841 (NGMPP B 12/4); UBT Ma I 582; ULC Add. 1694; ASC G 3852 (cat. no. 4085); ULC Add. 2102; NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3=A 1081/5); NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3); NAK 1–1261 (A 10/5); Kesar 218 (NGMPP C 25/1).
To these fifteen we shall further add ASC G 4076 *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (cat. no. 4083). Shāstrī (1928, 716) reports that the folios of this work, completely extant, are numbered from 210 to 251, which is incontrovertible evidence for arguing that it was extracted from a MTM. For other cases like this in more recent paper manuscripts, see below. The total number of discovered palm-leaf manuscripts includes a MTM of the Śivadharma corpus in the library of the Collège de France whose existence was brought to my attention by the late Kamaleshwar Bhattacharya. I was unfortunately not able to directly inspect this copy, but I suppose this should correspond to one of the manuscripts brought from Nepal by Sylvain Lévi, and more precisely to the one described by him as 'un très bel exemplar du Çivadharma, une énorme encyclopédie du culte çivaïte, qu'aucune collection publique, en Inde aussi bien que en Europe, ne possède encore' (*Mémorial Sylvain Lévi* 1937, 265). Manuscripts microfilmed by the NGMPP are listed and/or described in the NGMCP catalogue (see the online version at: <http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/Main_Page>), while the Cambridge manuscripts are described in Vergiani, Cuneo and Formigatti 2011–2014. Regarding the contents of all the examined manuscripts, see Appendix I; for the conventions followed in their citation, see par. 10.
20 NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3), the most recent palm-leaf manuscript of the corpus. Note however that the latest palm-leaf manuscript transmitting a portion of the texts of the collection is NAK 1–1376 (NGMPP A 1158/8), a MTM transmitting *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s sixth chapter (*Śāntyadhyāya*) together with other Purāṇic excerpts. This manuscript is dated to NS 522, 1401–02 CE (fol. 20v[L3]). To

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lese paper manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus on the other hand are attested until the 20th century.[21] While later paper production witnesses the existence of single-text manuscripts of some works of the corpus (see below), on the basis of the extant palm-leaf manuscripts we do not know whether these works were transmitted independently also before their attestation in the collection. All we can say on the sole account of the positive evidence is that the earliest and most frequent attestations of these works are in Nepalese MTMs, and that they have been understood and labelled as a corpus chiefly due to their being so transmitted. Our idea of a Śivadharma corpus is therefore strongly dependent on the Nepalese production of MTMs, which in this case can be said to be actual 'corpus-organizers'.[22]

2 Nepalese MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus: Description and terminology

The terminology that will be used in describing the most representative items of the collection is partially inspired by the one employed in Western codicology for the same purposes, although a few adaptations were needed. The main problem with the detailed definitions given, for instance, by J. Peter Gumbert regarding the different elements of what he calls 'the stratigraphy of the non-homogeneous codex' (2004) is that they are based on minimal units, the quires, which do not have an exact counterpart in Nepalese manuscripts, nor in the majority of extant manuscripts from Indian cultural areas, except in later cases which are however

the year 516 it is also possible to date the palm-leaf manuscript ULC Add. 2836, again a MTM containing, among other works, the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadha-rmaśāstra*.
Still unsolved to me is the case of Kesar 218 (NGMPP C 25/1), a palm-leaf manuscript that according to the catalogue should be dated to VS 1985 (1928–29 CE). Probably also due to the poor quality of the images in my possession, I was unfortunately not able to confirm what however seems to be too late a dating.

21 The latest dated Nepalese paper manuscript I have examined so far is Kesar 597 NGMPP C 57/5, dated to NS 863 (1742–43 CE; see fol. 213r[L8]), but the NGMCP catalogue records a few paper manuscripts dated to the 20th century under the title *Śivadharma*. See for instance NGMPP M 3/8, a MTM of 135 folios possibly transmitting the *Śāntyadhyāya* along with other brief texts, dated to VS 1994 (1937–38 CE); or NGMPP E 341/16, a manuscript of 20 folios dated to VS 1998 (1941–42 CE).

22 On the notion of 'corpus-organizers', see Bausi 2010.

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ascribable to external influences.[23] The most attested format for palm-leaf manuscripts, which was later adopted also for a variety of writing supports, among which paper, is the one that is usually designated with the Hindī word *pothī* (from Sanskrit *pustaka/pustikā*, 'book', via the Prakrit *potthiā*): this format does not require the use of quires, nor of a fixed binding, since loose leaves, which are thus the sole minimal units, are piled on each other and kept together just by the use of removable strings, as well as by upper and lower covers.[24] This is the sole format in which the Nepalese manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus, both the palm-leaf and the paper specimens, are attested. Therefore, when Gumbert defines a codicological unit as 'a discrete number of quires, worked in a single operation and containing a complete text and/or set of texts',[25] he uses a category that is not applicable to the manuscripts under investigation, nor to the majority of other MTMs from the same cultural area. As a consequence, all his other definitions dependent on that of codicological unit, when taken literally, fail to be directly useable in this context. A good example is that of 'blocks', at the basis of the distinction between 'unarticulated' and 'articulated' units. Referring to the boundaries that define sections within the unarticulated codicological unit — like the end of a text and the beginning of another, or the switch to a different hand — Gumbert states that 'places where a quire boundary coincides with any other boundary are

23 An example is provided by the introduction of codices into the valley of Kashmir by Muslims, a fact which strongly influenced the local production of manuscripts, so that, as early as the 15th century, this region attests the manufacture and use of codices bound with leather and made of quires, consisting both of local birchbark and of paper (Losty 1982, 8–9). Moreover, as Alexis Sanderson informed me in a private communication dated to July 5, 2016, 'we have a Kashmirian Śāradā birchbark manuscript bound in the western manner and covered with tanned leather dated in Laukika / Saptarṣi year 29 in the reign of Anantadeva, that is to say, in 1054 CE and containing a number of Buddhist Tantric texts. It is on display in the Tibet Museum adjoining the Norbulingka Palace in Lhasa'. The University Library of Cambridge owns a Kashmiri codex of the *Bṛhannāradīyapurāṇa* (Add. 2465) that still shows traces of its original binding, making it possible to observe that quires were sewn according to the Persian style (I thank Camillo Formigatti for drawing my attention to this piece of evidence). A sort of compromise between the codex and the traditional so-called *pothī* format was reached in the 17th and 18th century with the production of manuscripts consisting of a single big quire in which long paper sheets were sewn together by means of a strong cord (Losty 1982, 12–13 and 130–31). The introduction of European books also played a role in influencing the Indian production of manuscripts based on quires.

24 I do not account here for the variety of forms and solutions attested in this format, nor for other formats of Indic manuscripts; for a brief introduction to the topic, the reader may refer to Losty 1982, 5 foll; a broader discussion, with remarks on the composite manuscripts, can be found in Formigatti 2011, 26–39.

25 Gumbert 2004, 23.

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caesuras, and the quires between caesuras are blocks'.[26] When this happens, a unit can be considered 'articulated'. Essential to this definition, however, is that the blocks do not correspond to a complete work and, as a consequence, are not separable from the torso without affecting the whole manuscript. As we shall see, the concept of block can be very useful if applied to the manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus, provided only that we overcome the limitation represented by the lack of correspondence of the blocks with whole works.

In partial contrast to Gumbert's definitions, I would like to argue that the majority of the Nepalese Śivadharma manuscripts can be analysed as consisting of a single codicological unit (they would therefore be considered 'monomerous' according to this terminology),[27] even though they are often divided by caesuras into blocks corresponding to different works, which thus become separable from the torso of the manuscript. These blocks can in fact be mutually independent, and there are hints that the different parts of the manuscripts have sometimes been used separately. Describing the MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus as monomerous, when possible — in spite of the mutual independence of the works — is however suggested by the internal uniformity of their physical features as well as by the information provided by paratexts. These sets of evidence confirm that two of the constitutive features of a codicological unit — the unity of production and of purpose — are present. Internal subdivisions do not affect the cohesion of the manuscripts nor their intent of creating and preserving a corpus of texts.

A good starting point for a closer examination of the MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus is a manuscript held at the University Library of Cambridge and catalogued as Add. 1645. This is a palm leaf manuscript consisting of 247 folios and dated in the final colophon to NS 259 (1139–40 CE), a circumstance that makes it one of the earliest dated manuscripts of the Śivadharma collection.[28] The ruling monarch in Nepal at that time was Mānadeva (r. ca. 1136–1140 CE).[29] This manuscript attests that by then all the eight works which constitute the canonical corpus existed and were transmitted together in the following arrangement:

Śivadharmaśāstra	fols. 1r–38r
Śivadharmottara	fols. 38r–87r

26 Gumbert 2004, 24.

27 Gumbert 2004, 26.

28 The dated colophon is at fol. 247r[L6], immediately after the final heading of the *Dharmaputrikā*. Pictures of this manuscript are available on the website of the Cambridge Digital Library under the following link: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01645/1>.The earliest dated manuscript of the Śivadharma corpus identified so far is ASC G 4077 (see below).

29 Petech 1984, 58–59.

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Śivadharmasaṃgraha	fols. 87r–132r
Śivopaniṣad	fols. 132r–150v
Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda	fols. 150v–180v
Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda	fols. 180v–201v
Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha	fols. 201v–238v
Dharmaputrikā	fols. 238v–247r

The works contained in this manuscript are copied one after the other, the only caesuras being the final and initial headings of each text. The conclusion of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is marked not only by a simple conclusive statement like all the other texts, but also by a series of invocations (*mantra*s) in which Śiva is invoked in his famous eight aspects. These *mantra*s are reproduced, as if they were an integral part of the text, by almost all palm-leaf Nepalese and paper manuscripts, with the significant exception of NAK 6-7 (NGMPP A 1028/4), one of the earliest MTMs ascribable to the Śivadharma corpus (see below).[30] These auspicious statements had most likely been introduced by a scribe and then copied by others as if they were part of the text. Regardless of their origin, the final *mantra*s manage to create a sort of barrier between the first and earliest text of the collection and the following ones.[31] The works contained in ULC Add. 1645 are not di-

30 Note that ASC G 4077, from what one can deduce on the basis of the catalogue information, lacks this *mantra* as well. Its description however is not as exhaustive as the one provided in the same catalogue for the other Śivadharma corpus manuscript (ASC G 3852).

31 The text of the *mantra* runs as follows (note that the transcripts presented here and elsewhere are done verbatim):

ULC Add. 1645, fol. 38r[LL2–4]: || ○ || *oṃ mahādevāya candramūrttaye namaḥ* | *oṃ īśānāya sūryamūrtta<ye> namaḥ* | *oṃ <u>grāya vāyumūrttaye* • *namaḥ* | *oṃ rudrāya agnimūrttaye namaḥ* | *oṃ bhavāya jalamūlamūrttaye namaḥ* | *oṃ sarvāya kṣitimūrttaye nama*[L3]*ḥ* | *oṃ paśupataye yajamānamūrttaye namaḥ* | *oṃ bhīmāya ākāśamūrttaye namaḥ* | *mūrttayo 'ṣṭau śivasyai*: • *tāḥ pūrvādikramayogataḥ* | *agnayāntaḥ prayojyasya tebhyaḥ śivāṅgapūjanaṃ* || ○ || *iti śiva*: • *dharmaśāstre nandīkeśvaraprokte* (sic!) *śivabhaktyādyaśākhāpaśākhādhyāyo* (sic!) *dvādaśas samāptaḥ* || ○ || *iti* [L4] *śivadharmaḥ samāptaḥ* || ○ ||; 'Oṃ, obeisance to the Great God, whose embodiment is the moon. Oṃ, obeisance to the Ruler, whose embodiment is the sun. Oṃ, obeisance to the Fierce, whose embodiment is the wind. Oṃ, obeisance to Rudra, whose embodiment is fire. Oṃ, obeisance to Bhava, whose embodiment is water (read *jalamūrrtaye* instead of *jālamūlamūrrtaye*). Oṃ, obeisance to Śarva, whose embodiment is earth. Oṃ, obeisance to Paśupati, whose embodiment is the sacrificer. Oṃ, obeisance to the Fearful, whose embodiment is ether. These are the eight embodiments of Śiva according to a sequence which starts from the east and ends with the south-east. [...] Thus, in the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, which has been exposed by Nandikeśvara, the twelfth chapter [entitled] *Śivabhaktyādyaśākhopaśākhā* is completed. Thus, the Śivadharma is completed'.

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visible, since neither blank space nor blank pages are inserted in order to separate them. Foliation runs uninterrupted from the first until the last page. This case thus literally complies with Gumbert's 'unarticulated' monomerous, i.e. a manuscript corresponding to a single unarticulated codicological unit not divided in blocks. More precisely, this manuscript is consistent with what is defined as 'homogeneous' monomerous, i.e. an unarticulated codicological unit which still has some internal boundaries — in this case, the use of slightly different hands — distinguishing physically indivisible sections.[32] Parallel to ULC Add. 1645, only one other palm-leaf MTM of the Śivadharma corpus arranges the texts one after the other, thus testifying that they were in fact conceived as forming a textual unit since early times. I am referring to the already mentioned NAK 6-7 (NGMPP A 1028/4), an early fragmentary palm-leaf manuscript of which 157 folios are extant. Though being undated, this may be the earliest piece of evidence for the existence of the collection, given that its script can be dated between the late 10th and the beginning of the 11th century.[33] Like ULC Add. 1645, this manuscript does not mark the end of works with a blank space, but just with final headings and auspicious invocations. The foliation runs uninterrupted, with only one exception that we will examine soon. The initial portion of the manuscript is severely mutilated, as shown by the following table of contents:

Note that only this manuscript attests the variant *jalamūla°* instead of the simple *jala°* that is to be expected here and that is attested in the other manuscripts. The final heading of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is placed after the *mantra*s, so that they are also formally included in the text. The same text in the same position, preceding the final heading of the work, is found, among others, in NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3), ULC Add. 1694, NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3), ASC G 3852, Kesar 218 (NGMPP C 25/1), WI δ 16. This *mantra* is also found in a MTM in Bengali script (ULC Add. 1599), whereas it is absent from all the catalogued Kashmiri manuscripts and from the southern manuscripts that I could check.

Bodl. Or. B 125 and NAK 5–841 (NGMPP B 12/4) present a longer version of the final *mantra*, which in both cases is inserted between the final heading of *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s last chapter and the general final heading of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*. Folios belonging to this section are missing in ULC Add. 2102, NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3) and NAK 1–1261 (NGMPP A 10/5).

32 Gumbert 2004, 25. Note that the definition of homogeneous codicological unit is contrasted with that of 'uniform' unit, in which the only boundaries correspond to text boundaries.

In ULC Add. 1645, besides the boundaries represented by the use of different hands, a few, blurred folios not originally belonging to the manuscript have been added at the beginning and the end, presumably with a protective function.

33 I thank Kengo Harimoto for helping me confirm this and other estimates on the sole basis of palaeographical features. My colleague Nirajan Kafle has pointed out, during a workshop held at the University of Hamburg, that this manuscript is more likely to belong to the beginning of the 11th century.

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Śivadharmaśāstra	fols. 34r*–48v
Śivadharmottara	fols. 48v–109v
Śivadharmasaṃgraha	fols. 109v–162r
Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda	fols. 162r–191v
Śivopaniṣad	fols. 1v–13v*

Although the initial folios of the manuscript are missing, the folio with the concluding colophon of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fol. 191) is extant. This work ends here with chapter 20, unlike the rest of the tradition where the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is divided into 21, 22 or even 23 chapters.[34] The verso side of fol. 191 contains only three and half lines (opposed to the five lines per page of the other folios), then the remaining quarter of the page following the final colophon is left blank (Fig.1). Since the habit of the scribe was not to separate the works from each other with a blank space, we can deduce that this was the actual end of the manuscript.

34 The manuscript tradition is rather varied on this point, and a detailed account of this diversity can be found in De Simini forthc. a. In brief, part of the palm-leaf tradition divides the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* into 21 chapters plus a few stanzas added after the colophon of chapter 21, to which however the manuscripts do not append the heading of 22, but end the chapter — and the work — by means of a simple concluding *iti*. This part of the tradition includes very early items, such as NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), dated to 1069 CE, ULC Add. 1645 (dated to 1138–39 CE), ULC Add. 1694 (12th century), ULC Add. 2102 (12th century), NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3), dated to 1170 CE and NAK 1/1261 (NGMPP A 10/5), but also later manuscripts like NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3), dated to 1396 CE and Kesar 218 (NGMPP C 25/1). We can regard NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3) as representative of this 'group' — the early stage of the study of these manuscripts does not allow us yet to identify proper 'branches' — in order to observe their arrangement of *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*'s final portion in contrast with the earlier NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4). If we compare the final portion of chapter 20 in NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3), which inserts another chapter right after it, with the corresponding section in NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4), for which chapter 20 is also the last one, we will notice that *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*'s chapters 20 of the two manuscripts are consistent with each other, although NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4) misses a few verses that NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3) and other similar manuscripts attest at the very end of the chapter. The arrangement proposed by other palm-leaf manuscripts may vary substantially. NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3), a later palm-leaf manuscript dated to 1201 CE, divides chapter 20 into two shorter chapters, numbered 20 and 21, and appends to the latter the same colophon that NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4), but not the others, attached to chapter 20. This is followed by a chapter 22 (the *bhīṣaṇādhyāya*, 'chapter on the Horrific [Śiva]'; see fol. 183r[L2]) that is not extant in the rest of the tradition, and a chapter 23, which is an abridged version of NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3)'s chapter 21. Still different is the situation of Bodl. Or. B 125 (dated to 1187 CE), whose chapter 23 corresponds to chapter 21 of NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3). The different numeration of the chapters depends here on a different subdivision of the contents and not, like for NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3), on the insertion of a new chapter. Bodl.

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What seems to be the earliest manuscript of the collection therefore originally contained only four works, possibly reflecting an initial stage in the formation of the corpus. After the final statements and the auspicious *mantra*, a different hand has, at a later point, added a traditional *anuṣṭubh* stanza which was also added — in this case, by the same scribe of the manuscript — at the end of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*.[35] The stanza added on fol. 191$_v$ therefore had the primary function of filling a line left partially blank, and a secondary function — which is rather a consequence of the first — of creating a connection with the preceding work through the repetition of the same paratext.

The loose folios of this manuscript are not preserved in their original sequence, so fol. 191 is inserted in the middle of the manuscript, between two folios numbered one and two; these do not contain the beginning of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, but that of the *Śivopaniṣad*, a work that is usually attested in the other versions of the corpus but is missing from the 191 folios of which NAK 6–7 originally consisted. The text of the *Śivopaniṣad* runs from fol.1 until fol. 13, where it is interrupted before the completion of its sixth and penultimate chapter. The hand attested in the *Śivopaniṣad* is very close, though not identical, with that used for the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* — the latter, in turn, was written by a slightly different hand than the one used for copying the first three works — and the page layout and writing support are also the same. In spite of that, the section containing the *Śivopaniṣad* has to be considered a different codicological unit for two reasons: the foliation, which was running continuously in what we can now call the kernel of the manuscript, is started anew in this second unit; this one, moreover, is separated from the preceding *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* by the blank space on

Or. B 125 concludes the work without a final colophon. A scribe must have found this solution quite annoying, so he added a final heading to this portion, where he however mistakenly calls it 'chapter 22' (see Bodl. Or. B 125, fol. 197v[L4]), while according to the correct numeration it should have been the 24th.

35 The concluding paratextual statements of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* of NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4) read as follows: fol. 172r[L3] *iti sivadharmasaṃgrahe dvādasamaḥ • paṭalaḥ* || ✻ || *oṃ namaḥ sivāya* || *pāpo* <'>*haṃ pāpakarmāṇāṃ pāpātmā pāpasaṃbhava*<*ḥ*> | *trāhi māṃ • devam īsānaṃ sarvapāpaharo hara iti* || ○ || *oṃ namaḥ sivāya* ||; 'thus [ends] the twelfth chapter of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*. Oṃ, obeisance to Śiva. I am sin, I am one whose actions are sin (read *pāpakarmāhaṃ* instead of *pāpakārmāṇāṃ*), a sinner, who is born from sin. Save me, o sovereign god (read *deva īsāna* instead of *devam īsānaṃ*)! The Seizer [god] is the remover of all sins. Oṃ, obeisance to Śiva'. The same verse is attested in this manuscript at the end of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*: fol. 191v[L3] || ○ || *iti mahābhāratasāntiparvaṇi dānadharmeṣu* u[L4]*māmahesvarasaṃvāde viṃsamo* <'>*dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ* || ✻ || *samāptaṃ umāmahesvarasaṃvādaṃ* || *oṃ nama sivā • dityo gu*[[..]]ḥ || *oṃ nama sarvajñāya* || *pāpo* <'>*haṃ pāpakarmānāṃ pāpātatmā* (sic!) *pāpasabhava* (sic!) *trāhi • māṃ devam īsānāṃ sarvvapāpaharo harā* (sic!) *iti* ✻ *namaḥ sarvajñāya* ||

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fol. 191v, in contrast to the practice attested in the kernel, and by leaving a blank page (fol. 1r). For these reasons, NAK 6–7 can be defined as a composite, since the unity of production is interrupted by the introduction of these two different techniques. The writing used in this manuscript shows only small differences in the ductus, which can be probably considered just synchronic variants. The secondary, incomplete unit corresponding to the *Śivopaniṣad* might therefore have been produced in the same circle and at about the same time as the kernel to which it was added. In other words, the two units can be considered 'homogenetic' or even 'monogenetic'.[36] It is difficult to tell whether this is a paratactic or a hypotactic composite. The new foliation seems to suggest that the second unit was not produced in order to fit the already existing kernel. However, the remaining options — that this was a single-text manuscript of the *Śivopaniṣad* or that it was extracted from another MTM and then associated with a new kernel — still leave unsolved questions. In the first case, this would have been the only attested palm-leaf single-text manuscript of the *Śivopaniṣad*; in the second, we should postulate the existence of a still unidentified MTM in which foliation was started anew with every work, and that was deprived of the *Śivopaniṣad* or completely dismembered. At present, neither option can be proved.

Among the Nepalese MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus, there is another composite that reproduces a very similar situation as that of NAK 6–7. This is a palm-leaf manuscript of which 258 folios are extant, held at the University Library of Cambridge and catalogued as Add. 1694. The manuscript is undated and incomplete, since the beginning and the end are missing, and severely damaged at some points. Despite these defects, it is possible to reconstruct the order of the works that were contained in it:

Śivadharmaśāstra	fols. *3v–41v
Śivadharmottara	fols. 42r–89r
Śivadharmasaṃgraha	fols. 90r–136r
Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda	fols. 137r–167v
Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda	fols. 170r–192v
Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha	fols. 193r–238v
Dharmaputrikā	fols. 240v–244v*
Śivopaniṣad	fols. 126r[1] –142v[1]

36 See Gumbert 2004, 27. The difference between 'homogenetic' and 'monogenetic' units is that in the first case the units have been produced by the same circle or workshop, whereas in the second case they have been produced by exactly the same person.

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In the case of this manuscript, we can distinguish a first codicological unit corresponding to a MTM with uninterrupted foliation, but in which the different works are separated by means of caesuras consisting of a blank space left at the end of each work and one blank page (typically the recto side of the following folio) separating it from the following work. The texts are therefore potentially divisible, although the foliation is uninterrupted from the beginning of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* until the end of the *Dharmaputrikā*. This description agrees with the arrangement of the majority of the manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus, with the sole exception of the aforementioned ULC Add. 1645 and NAK 6–7.[37] It would be misleading to interpret the kernel of ULC Add. 1694 and similar manuscripts as composites by describing the different works as belonging to distinct codicological units. Their works have been copied with the intention of arranging them in the same MTM from the beginning, and therefore must rather be considered as articulations of the same codicological unit. This can be argued first of all on the basis of the frequency with which the same works are transmitted together in contemporary manuscripts — and, we shall recall again, the absence of single-text manuscripts of the same works belonging to this time span. The seven works of the kernel are, moreover, arranged in a precise order, comparable to that of many other manuscripts (see references); they cannot therefore be likened to the carriages of a train, 'simply put one behind the other', and to which one can give 'any desired order', as Gumbert eidetically describes composite manuscripts.[38] The physical features of the manuscripts are coherent: material, page layout and writing are kept constant, and the foliation is uninterrupted. The comparison with remarks extracted from colophons of contemporary Śivadharma MTMs help in strengthening this point. We can therefore call the kernel of ULC Add. 1694 a single codicological unit, adapting Muzerelle's broader definition according to which a codicological unit is a 'Volume, partie de volume ou ensemble de volumes dont l'exécution peut être considérée comme une opération unique, réalisée dans les mêmes conditions de lieu, de temps et de technique'.[39]

The set of works contained in the kernel of ULC Add. 1694 lacks the *Śivopaniṣad*. Possibly because of this omission, another smaller codicological unit containing only the *Śivopaniṣad*, now described in the catalogue as Add. 1694[2], has been added to the bigger manuscript. From its foliation (here marked by [1]),

37 Note also the exception of NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), which starts the foliation anew at the beginning of each work (see below).

38 Gumbert 2004, 31.

39 See Muzerelle 1985, *s.v.*

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running from page 126r[1] to page 142v[1], we can deduce that this unit had been extracted from, or produced for, another (still unidentified) manuscript. ULC Add. 1694 is therefore a case of 'paratactic composite', because the production of the independent codicological unit of the *Śivopaniṣad* was not primarily intended to be joined with the present kernel.[40] This second codicological unit was in all probability produced by the same circles which produced the kernel, if not even copied by one of the scribes who worked on the kernel. A closer examination of the hands traceable in ULC Add. 1694 can in fact prove that the ductus attested in all the works of the kernel but the *Śivadharmottara* is different than the type used for the *Śivadharmottara*, which at the same time is extremely close to that employed in the *Śivopaniṣad*. The features taken into consideration in distinguishing the two types concern the dimension and shape of single letters (*akṣara*s) and clusters, number of *akṣara*s in a line, as well as orthographic peculiarities,[41] page layout and scribal habits.[42]

Once again we come across a MTM of the Śivadharma corpus to which a missing work was subsequently added, though still in the same period in which the main manuscript was produced, and in both cases the added work was the *Śivopaniṣad*. That there might have been some doubts whether to include this text in the corpus cannot be proven only on the basis of these two cases; however, the text itself seems to give hints that it had to beat other competitors in order to be recognised by the tradition of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* (see par. 3).

Extant colophons of palm-leaf MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus confirm that this collection of works was looked at as a unit at the time of their production and by the first consumers of this literature. This is true already for the oldest known

40 Gumbert 2004, 27.

41 The most striking among the orthographical peculiarities of what I call 'type A' (the hand used in the whole manuscript with the exception of the *Śivadharmottara*) is that it systematically marks the *visarga* preceding the initial consonant *pa-* (*upadhmānīya*) as a small circle on the top-left part of the occlusive. This happens very rarely in the Nepalese scripts, being by contrast a very well attested feature in the *śāradā* manuscripts from Kashmir (see Slaje 1993, 28).
Pictures of this manuscript are available on the website of the Cambridge Digital Library under the following link: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01694-00001/1>.

42 An example of these scribal habits is that, at the end of the *Śivadharmottara* and of the *Śivopaniṣad* (unlike all other works), the scribe notes a number corresponding to the total amount of stanzas copied in the work. The *Śivadharmottara* is further distinguished from the rest of the kernel because, soon after the final heading of the last chapter, it features a 'guest-text', possibly an original composition by the scribe, titled *Yogasārastava* (see ULC Add. 1694 fols. 89r[LL4–6]–89v[LL1–5]).

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dated attestation of the corpus, a palm-leaf manuscript preserved at the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, identified as G 4077.[43] This manuscript has, according to the catalogue record, a total amount of 334 folios.[44] The final colophon[45] dates it to NS 156 (1035–36 CE), during the reign of the *paramabhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājaparameśvara* Lakṣmīkāmadeva,[46] and assigns the manuscript to the work of the scribe Ratnasiṃha.[47] The book that had just been copied is further referred to as a *pustakaṃ śivadharmam,* a 'book [named] Śivadharma'. Thus, since its earlier attestations, this collection of texts was designated by a collective noun qualifying it as a coherent unit rather than as a simple assemblage of works.

In several other cases, the colophons of the Śivadharma MTMs refer to the single texts as forming a whole, even as single parts of one treatise. A good example is provided by NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3). This palm-leaf manuscript of 274 extant folios transmits all eight works of the collection in the following arrangement:

Śivadharmaśāstra	fols. 1v–41r
Śivadharmottara	fols. 1v–52v

43 All the information about manuscripts of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta is based on the catalogue records (Shastri 1928, 714–744).

44 The number can be explained by the fact that this manuscript also exhibits the unique feature of missing the *Dharmaputrikā*, which is replaced by a longer work titled *Lalitavistara*, a dialogue between Śiva and the Goddess which, at least in part, possibly corresponds to the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda,* though being substantially longer. This last work, of which 23 chapters are extant, is called *Lalitavistara* in all colophons with the exception of the last one. This last colophon, recording the title of chapter 23, calls the work *Umāmāheśvarottarottarasaṃvāda*. It seems possible to identify two different works here, rather than only one as Shastri hypothesises, since the last two colophons are both referred to two different chapter 23, the first attributed to the *Lalitavistara* and the second one to the *Umāmāheśvarottarottarasaṃvāda*. The chapter titles reported for the *Lalitavistara* do correspond to those of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda,* divided into 23 chapters. Chapters 24–33 of this *Lalitavistara* are given in the catalogue as the ninth work of the collection, although one can interpret it as the continuation of the preceding work. I thank Alexis Sanderson for providing me with digital reproductions of *Lalitavistara*'s last chapters.

45 Shastri 1928, 721.

46 According to Petech (1984, 37–39), Lakṣmīkāmadeva's reign can be tentatively dated to NS 150 to 161 (1030–1041 CE); the beginning of his co-rulership with Rudradeva should start from ca.1010 CE (NS 130).

47 ASC G 4077: *saṃvat 156 śrāvaṇaśukladvādaśyāṃ paramabhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājaparameśvaraśrīlakṣmīkāmadevasya vijayarājye śrītaittirīyaśālāyā<m a>dhivāsinā kulaputraratnasiṃhena likhitam* |; 'year 156, in the twelfth [lunar day] of the bright [fortnight] in [the month of] Śrāvaṇa, during the victorious reign of the supreme lord, paramount king, highest sovereign, glorious Lakṣmīkāmadeva; [this was] written by Ratnasiṃha, son of a noble family, resident in a glorious Taittirīya school'. Petech (1984, 36) verified this date as July 6, 1036 CE.

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Śivadharmasaṃgraha	fols. 1v–57v
Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda	fols. 1v–32v
Śivopaniṣad	fols. 1v–19r
Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha	fols. 1v–46r
Dharmaputrikā	fols. 1v–12r
Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda	fols. 1v–24r

Among the palm-leaf manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus, this is the only one using a non-continuous foliation, a circumstance that could have facilitated the removal of a work from the manuscript in order to be read or copied. A hint that this was the case lies in the fact that the last two works are misplaced: while we have other attestations of the sequence *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* and *Dharmaputrikā*, in no case is the *Dharmaputrikā* placed in a position other than the last one. This and other cases prove that these works could at times have had an autonomous life outside the corpus as 'severed units'.[48] In spite of the potential autonomy of the single works, highlighted by the independent foliations, the concluding colophon of NAK 3–393 confirms that they were seen and produced as a single unit. This colophon is placed immediately after the final heading of the *Dharmaputrikā* (Fig. 2), another hint that this work was most likely conceived as the last one, and dates the completion of the manuscript to the the 'third lunar day of the bright [fortnight] of [the month] Āṣādha', NS 189 (May 24, 1069 CE).[49] The scribe then inserts a self-praising stanza in which he states that 'the abode of Dharma, whose origin derives from a noble family, [a man] fond of good qualities, whose name is Rāghavasiṃha, brought to completion the light of knowledge [which is] the treatise on Śaiva religion (*Śivadharmaśāstra*), the basis of [all] good. Thanks to this meritorious action of the scribe (lit. 'the agent'), may there be supreme fortune

48 Gumbert 2004, 30. There are cases of MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus that are missing an entire work, like ULC Add. 2102 of the University Library of Cambridge, from which the *Śivadharmaśāstra* has been entirely removed. We have already drawn attention to the case of ULC Add. 1694, again from the University Library of Cambridge, to which a *Śivopaniṣad* extracted from another MTM has been joined. A more recent example is that of a paper manuscript catalogued as Kesar 537 (NGMPP C 107/7), dated to NS 803 (1682–83 CE), which is missing folios 1–88, containing the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*. More examples of severed codicological units from recent paper manuscripts will be presented below.

49 NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), fol. 12r[IL2]: *navottarāsītiyute sa • te bde āsāḍhaśuklasya tithau ṭṛtīye*; 'in [the year] 189, in the 3rd lunar day of the bright [fortnight] of [the month] Āṣādha'. This colophon is also reported under the title *Dharmaputrikā* by Petech 1984, 46, where the date is verified as May 24, 1069.

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[for all]. The word of Śiva, worshipped in the three worlds, is always victorious!'.[50] The title *Śivadharmaśāstra* is therefore used here as a collective noun referring to all the works contained in this manuscript. At a later time, the fourth line of this page was filled with two less original eulogistic stanzas written in a more recent script: 'the one who, having his senses refrained, would study this treatise [to the extant of] only a single quarter of a stanza, has studied the whole teaching, there is no doubt about it. This meritorious treatise on politics (*arthaśāstra*), this supreme treatise on religion and law (*dharmaśāstra*), this treatise on emancipation from rebirth (*mokṣaśāstra*) has been taught by Śiva, whose light is unmeasured.'[51]

The colophon of Bodl. Or. B 125 allows us a further step in these considerations. This palm-leaf manuscript of 335 extant folios contains the usual set of eight works, organised in what is the most typical arrangement for Śivadharma MTMs: the works are separated by leaving a blank space, then a full blank page after the end of each text, so that they are demarcated, although the foliation runs uninterrupted throughout the manuscript. We should however take note of an alteration in the layout of the works on fol. 159v. Here the end of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, in line 2, was immediately followed by the beginning of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, in contrast with the habits of the scribe. Somebody noticed this incongruence and tried to make this portion conform to the rest of the codex. As a consequence, lines 2–5 of fol. 159v, containing the first stanzas of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, were carelessly deleted; then a new folio was added after the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, its recto side left blank while on the verso side the first stanzas of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* were copied again. Fol. 160v thus contains only four lines, corresponding to those four lines deleted from fol. 159v — unlike all the other folios in this manuscript, which have five lines on each page. Since the page number has not

50 NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), fol. 12r[L2]: *dharmāsayaḥ* (sic!) *satkulalabdhajanmā guṇapriyo raghavasinhanāmā jñānapra*[L3]*kāsaṃ sivadharmaśāstraṃ śubhapratiṣṭhaṃ kṛtavān samagraṃ* || *kartur etena puṇyena bhūyā* | • l *lakṣmīr anuttarā* | *trailokyapūjitaṃ śaivaṃ vākyaṃ jayati sarvadā* || Note that these lines are metrical. The first stanza (until *samagram*) is an *upajāti*, while the second one is an *anuṣṭubh*.

51 NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), fol. 12r[L4]: *pādamātram idaṃ śāstraṃ yo 'dhīyīta jitendriyaḥ* | *tenādhītaṃ sarvvadharmmam iti nā* • *sty atra saṃśayaḥ* || *arthaśāstram idaṃ puṇyaṃ dharmmaśāstram idaṃ paraṃ* | *mokṣaśāstram idaṃ proktaṃ* • *śivenāmitatejasā* ||
Note that these couplets are also found on fol. 251v[LL6–7] (final of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*) of the paper MTM Kesar 537, NGMPP C 107/7 (dated on fol. 262v[L5] to NS 803 = 1682–83 CE), and on fol. 243v[L9] of the fragmentary paper MTM NAK 4–93 (NGMPP A 1341/6), again after the end of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*. The second stanza is clearly modelled on *Mahābhārata* 1.56.21: *arthaśāstram idaṃ puṇyaṃ dharmaśāstram idaṃ param* | *mokṣaśāstram idaṃ proktaṃ vyāsenāmitabuddhinā*. The only difference lies in the final clause, in which the *Mahābhārata* is said to have been 'taught by Vyāsa, whose intellect is unmeasured'.

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been altered by this intervention and the script of fol. 160v is only slightly different, we can hypothesize that this alteration was done when the manuscript was still in the making.

The initial part of Bodl. Or. B 125 has undergone severe damage, which caused the loss of the first eleven folios and their replacement by means of more recent ones. The junction between the replacement unit (here indicated by [1]) and the torso of the manuscript can be found by comparing fol. 15[1] and fol. 12, the last extant folio of the replacement and the first extant folio of the kernel respectively.[52] From this point on, the torso shows no other substantial alteration; the presence of a second layer of annotations and corrections added *in margine* by a different hand makes it an enriched unit.

After the final heading of the *Dharmaputrikā*, the scribe records that the manuscript was penned in the month Āṣāḍha of the NS 307 (June 1187 CE), 'during the victorious reign of the great king, highest sovereign, the glorious Guṇakāmadeva'.[53] In the next sentence on line 6, the scribe then refers to the manuscript he has just copied, calling it 'the eight sections of the Śivadharma' (*śivadharmāṣṭakhaṇḍa*). Such a statement proves that in the 12th century, which is the period from which most of the extant palm-leaf Śivadharma MTMs originate, these texts were thought of as different parts of a single unit, and their number was fixed as eight; it confirms that these eight works had, in brief, become a corpus, by means of a formative process in which the production of MTMs had played a pivotal role.

This view of the Śivadharma corpus as being an *aṣṭakhaṇḍa*, a body with eight sections, is confirmed verbatim by NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3), a slightly later palm-leaf MTM of 215 extant folios. This manuscript is severely mutilated: the end of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is completely missing and only a few folios of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* are extant, just to mention a few remarkable lacunas. From fol. 100v,

52 Fol. 15[1] contains a portion of *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s chapter five. The last hemistich that can be read on the verso side, fifth line, is *punnāganāgavakulair aśokotpalacampakaiḥ*. Fol. 12, immediately following, begins on its recto side with *°kotpalacampakaiḥ*, revealing that the junction between the two units was not perfectly accomplished, as also testified by the different foliation. An editor of the manuscript expunged the redundant *akṣara*s from fol. 12r by adding dashes on the top of the letters.

53 Bodl. Or. B 125, fol. 312r[L5]: || o || *saṃvat 307 āśāḍhaśuklapaṃcamyāṃ puṣyanakṣatraguruvāsare rājādhirājaparameśvara*[L6]*śrīguhyakāmadevasya vijayarājye*; 'year 307, on the fifth [lunar day] of the bright [fortnight] in the [month] Āṣāḍha, under the asterism of Puṣya, a Thursday, during the victorious reign of the great king, highest sovereign, the glorious Guṇakāmadeva'. The king's name is misspelt here as Guhyakāmadeva. His name is mentioned in the correct form in line 5, alongside a slightly abridged version of the date, in a section immediately preceding the one translated in the text.

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reporting the final heading of the *Śivadharmottara*, as well as from fol. 152v, reporting the beginning of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, it is possible to deduce that also in this case the works were organised so as to be clearly divided. The recto page of fol. 152 is in fact completely blank, and a blank space follows the concluding statements of the *Śivadharmottara* on fol. 100v. The foliation is continuous and also holds a feature that will be typical of paper MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus: there is in fact a double system of foliation, one in the left margin (verso side) reporting the page number in relation to the whole manuscript, and another one in the right margin (verso side), counting the pages of each single work. A long, informative colophon is preserved entirely on fol. 276r, after the conclusion of the *Dharmaputrikā*. Before considering the information provided by this colophon, we shall notice that 15 more folios are added after fol. 276r, which must originally have been conceived as the last folio of the manuscript (the colophon, ending on the verso side, is followed by a blank space). Of these additional folios, the first six may originally have belonged to the kernel and been misplaced here because they are broken; the others are a more recent production.

The text of the final colophon informs us that the manuscript was penned in the 'year 321, on the 13th [lunar day] of the dark [fortnight] in the [month] Pauṣa, a Thursday, under the asterism of Mūla, in coincidence with the Vyāghātayoga, [...] during the victorious reign of the paramount king, highest sovereign, entirely devoted to Śiva, [favoured by] the supreme Lord Paśupati, the glorious Arimalladeva; in the time of the glorious Rāṇaka Haridharasiṃha, head of the district (read: °*ādhipateḥ*) bordering the glorious Pañcāvata; for the twice-born Somadeva [...], possessing the glory[54] of daughters and sons, longing for Heaven, pleasures, wealth and liberation for [his] mother, father, teachers and their sons and grandsons; the supreme book consisting of the 12,000 stanzas of the Śivadharma, made of one hundred chapters [divided] into eight sections, has been copied until completion.'[55] The date has been verified as January 4, 1201 CE.[56] During the reign of Arimalladeva,

54 I keep the reading °*śirīkasya* as a corruption from Prakrit of the Sanskrit *śrīkasya*.

55 NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3), fol. 276r[L1.3–4]: **[L3]** *samvatsaraśatatraya ekaviṃśatyādhike pauṣakṛṣṇatrayodaśyāyāṃ • gurudine mūlanakṣatre vyāghāt{r}ayoge śrīnepārthe* (?) *rājādhirājaparameśva<ra>paramamāheśvarapaśupatibhaṭārakasya{ḥ}* • || || *śrīmat* (sic!) *arimalladevasya vijayarāj<y>e* | *śrīpañcāvanadeśīyaviṣayādhipatiḥ* **[L4]** || || *rāṇakaśrīharidharaśiṃhasya varttamāne dvijaśrīpathamodhara* (?) *somadevasya putrī • tanayaśirīkasya* (sic!) *mātāpitāgurusaputrapautrādisvarggakāmārthamokṣārthinaḥ śivadharmadvādaśasāhasrikagra • nthaṃ aṣṭo* (sic!) *khaṇḍaśatādhyāyam uttamapustaka<m> susaṃpūrṇṇaṃ likhitam iti* |

56 I give here the estimate proposed by Petech (1984, 80), who transcribed this colophon among the documents of Arimalla's kingdom (1200–1216 CE), though wrongly reporting the title of the work as *Vṛttasārasaṅgrahadharmaputrikā*.

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the founder of the early Malla dynasty whose name is accompanied here by the full royal titles as well as epithets highlighting his devotion to Śiva, a copy of the Śivadharma corpus was therefore commissioned as a meritorious deed by the lay devotee Somadeva from the scribe Haricandra (we read his name further in line 4). The brief mention of the 'supreme book [...] of the Śivadharma' given in this colophon is truly remarkable, since here the corpus is regarded as one single work, for which the scribe gives a rough total amount of stanzas and chapters and which he depicts as divided into eight sections, which actually correspond to the eight works.

Colophons do not only provide the reader with practical information about the date and author of the copy.[57] At times they also help in shedding light on some of the functions fulfilled by manuscripts. In this sense, a very intriguing case is that of NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3), a MTM of the Śivadharma corpus from the National Archives of Kathmandu. This is a complete palm-leaf manuscript consisting of 289 folios transmitting the same eight 'canonical' works.[58] Unlike ULC Add. 1645, NAK 1–1075 opts for articulating its codicological unit in different blocks, just like other MTMs analysed so far. The foliation runs uninterrupted from the beginning to the end. This manuscript has a final colophon (fol. 290v[LL1–2]) in which a verifiable date of composition is given in metrical lines as follows:

57 Note, however, that at least in one case the date recorded by a manuscript of the Śivadharma corpus seems to refer not to its own composition but to that of the apograph. This occurs in NAK 5–841 (NGMPP B 12/4), an incomplete palm-leaf manuscript containing only three works of the collection (see Appendix I). On fol. 47v[L2], after the final heading of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, a different hand wrote: *samvat 315 anyādṛṣṭapustake samvatsarapramāṇaṃ dṛṣṭvā likhitaṃ* ||; 'year 315. Having seen [this] date (lit. 'year measurement') in another examined manuscript, [it] was copied [here]'. The year NS 315 corresponds to 1194–95 CE.
This is not an isolated case. I thank Francesco Sferra for drawing my attention to a similar colophon in the St Petersburg manuscript MS Ind. 172 of the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā*, described as Pt in the critical edition of the text (Isaacson and Sferra 2014). The copyist of this manuscript reproduces the colophon of the apograph — including the date, place and author of the copy — immediately before his own (see Isaacson and Sferra 2014, 140). Also in this case the scribe makes it clear that he has extracted the preceding information from another manuscript, by stating in the end of the colophon that he writes upon 'having seen [this] in a manuscript whose old palm-leaf pages are worn-out' (*jīrṇṇībhūtaprācīnatāḍapatrapustake dṛṣṭvā*).

58 This manuscript is also provided with a table of contents on the recto side of the first folio. This table is written in a different, later ductus, reporting the titles (sometimes in abridged version, like *Nandikeśvara* for the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, which in the manuscript tradition is also called *Nandikeśvarasaṃhitā* after the first, mythical expounder of the work; or *Dharmottara* for the *Śivadharmottara*), the number of leaves (*patraka*) and chapters (*paṭala*), as well as a short version of the incipit of each work. Note that there are in fact two such tables, one in the left margin, damaged and slightly faded, not reporting the incipits of the works, and one in the middle of the page, agreeing with the description given above.

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> In the expired Nepalese year named 'ether-planet-hand' (290), in the month of Pauṣa and in the 15th lunar day in the bright [fortnight], on the day of the sun, when the king [was] the celebrated Rudradeva, who has obscured the rays of the moon through the breaking forth of [his] fame, the treatise on the doctrine of Śiva copied by a distinguished [scribe] named Rāma has been then concluded. Obeisance to Śiva! Oṃ, obeisance to Śiva![59]

This date corresponds to January 4, 1170 CE.[60]

Again we find a case of MTM designated by a collective noun, but this is not the only feature which deserves our attention. A peculiarity of this manuscript is that it is possible to detect another dated colophon on fol. 254v, after the concluding heading of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*. While it may not be uncommon that a manuscript records two slightly different dates in two distant places in the manuscript, corresponding to two different phases in its production,[61] it is noteworthy

59 NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B7/3), fol. 290v[LL1–2]: *ākāśagrahahastasaṃjñini gate nepālasamvatsare pauṣe māṣe tithau ca pañcadaśame śukle raver vāsare | kīrttisphūrtti:*[L2]*tiraskṛtendukiraṇe śrīrudradeve nṛpe śrīrāmāhvayalekhitaṃ śivamataṃ śā • straṃ samāptaṃ tadā || || nama<ḥ> sivāya{ḥ} || oṃ na<maḥ> śivāya{ḥ} ||*
The text of this colophon is written in the *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. Immediately after the final heading of the *Dharmaputrikā* (fol. 290r[L4]), the scribe of this manuscript inserts a short metrical composition in which he sings Rudradeva's praise by means of three *śārdūlavikrīḍita* stanzas. The verses reporting the date are the fourth and concluding stanza of this original scribal composition.

60 As in Petech 1984, 68. The dates of king Rudradeva's reign are ca. 1167–1175 CE (Petech 1984, 68).

61 See the case of the palm-leaf MTM NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3), with 253 extant folios, in which two dates are reported in as many colophons, referring to different days of the same year. Fol. 171r[L6] reads: *samvat 516 jeṣṭhaśuklacaturdaśyāṃ somadine likhitam iti* ||; 'year 516, copied on the fourteenth [lunar day] of the bright [fortnight] in the [month] Jyeṣṭha, a Monday' (May, 1396 CE). A further colophon on fol. 211v[L3] reads: *samvat 516 aśviṇīśuklaprati<pa>dyātithau || somadine likhitam iti* ||; 'year 516, copied on the first lunar day of the bright [fortnight] in the [month] Āśvinī, on a Monday' (September, 1396 CE). This last colophon follows the conclusion of the *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, which however is not the last work in the manuscript (see Appendix I). The two dates must refer to two different phases in the composition of the manuscript. Another case is that of E 6489 (NGMPP E 321/26), a palm-leaf MTM of 63 folios transmitting the *Śāntyadhyāya* together with Purāṇic chapters, attributed to the *Ādivārāhapurāṇa* and the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*. After the final heading of the *Śāntyadhyāya* the copyist dates his work to 'year 316, on the 13th [lunar day] of the bright [fortnight] of the [month] Māgha, a Monday, during the victorious reign of the paramount king, the glorious Vijayakāmadeva, [this] manuscript was copied for the glorious Trikamanandanajiva' (fol. 18v[L2]: *samvat 316 māgha<śu>*[L3]*klatrayodaśyāṃ somavāre || mahārājādhirā<ja> śrīvijayakāmadevasya vijayarājye śrītrikamanaṃdanajivasya pustakaṃ li<khi>tam iti* ||). The copying thus happened in January, 1195 CE. Another colophon on fol. 44v[LL2–3], following the final heading of *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*'s *Devīmāhātmya*, dates it to the same month and year, but ten days later: 'year 316, on the 9th [lunar day] of the dark

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here that the colophon on fol. 254v, patently written by a different hand, records a much later date than the one of the copying. This colophon (Fig. 3) attests that the manuscript was used for a public reading (*pārāyaṇa*) that took eleven days, under the reign of the king Pratāpamalladeva of Kathmandu, in the 'year 772, on the full-moon day of the bright [fortnight] in the [month of] Kārttika, under the asterism of the Aśvin' (November 1651 CE).[62]

The name of king Pratāpamalladeva (1641–1674 CE)[63] also emerges from other comparable records. The date of a public reading is reported in a colophon of a complete manuscript of the *Mahābhārata*'s *Śāntiparvan* (the 'Section on Peace') listed in the catalogue of the Durbar Library of Kathmandu (no. 738) and used in the critical edition of the *Śāntiparvan* as V1.[64] This is a palm-leaf manuscript in Maithili script which was produced in the year 1592 CE. According to the editor of the work, the concluding colophon further attests that a public reading (*pārāyaṇa*) of this manuscript happened in NS 767 (1646–47 CE), again under

[fortnight] in the [month] Māgha, on Thursday, during the victorious reign of the glorious Vijayakāmadeva' (*samvat 316 māghakṛṣṇanavamyāṃ bṛhaspati*[L3]*dine śrīvijayakāmadevasya vijayarājye*). A secondary repair hides a few *akṣara*s, but by comparison with the former colophon it is easy to guess a toponym (*śrīcamp<āgutsa>madhyamaṭolake*). The donor is again Trikanandanajīva, the same as indicated by the other colophon.

A more 'extreme' case is that of the paper MTM NAK 4–1352 (NGMPP B 218–6), registering up to four different dates. These are all referring to different months of the same year, thus allowing us to reconstruct the correct arrangement of the works, which in this manuscript are placed in the following, unusual order: *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*; *Śivopaniṣad*; *Śivadharmaśāstra*; *Śivadharmottara*; *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*. This arrangement, however, is the consequence of a misplacement that might have happened because the works were temporarily separated from the MTM. The presence of a foliation that starts anew with each work has certainly not helped the curators of the manuscript in restoring the correct placement. From the concluding remarks added by the scribe we learn that the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* was completed in the month of Śravaṇa (see fol. 36r[L5]), corresponding to July–August, the *Śivopaniṣad* in the month of Bhādrapada (see fol. 20v[L4]), corresponding to August–September, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Śivadharmottara* (a colophon with a date is found only at the end of the latter) in the month of Caitra (see fol. 65v[L4]), corresponding to March–April, and the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* in the month of Vaiśākha (see fol. 60v[L4]), corresponding to April–May, all in NS 814 (1693–94 CE).

62 The full text of the colophon reads:

NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3), fol. 254v[L4]: *śrīśrījayapratāpamalladevena ekādaśadivaśābhyantarena pārāyanena • samāptaṃ kṛtaṃ || samvat 772 kārttikaśuklaḥ || pūrṇṇamāsyān tithau aśvininakṣatrasudvijā* [[...]] *śubhavāsare etadinena saṃpūrṇṇaṃ kṛtaṃ || śubham astu sarvadāra* ||.

The text of this colophon has been transcribed verbatim, without proposing the emendations that would be required if we were to adapt it to standard Sanskrit.

63 The figure of Pratāpamalla is sketched by Lévi 1905, 250–256.

64 Belvalkar 1966. This manuscript is discussed in vol. XVI, pp. XLV–XLVIII. See also Dunham 1991, 7, and Pollock 2006, 232, fn. 15.

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king Pratāpamalladeva, on the occasion of his coronation. A *pārāyaṇa* of the *Virāṭaparvan*, another portion of the *Mahābhārata*, is further ascribed to the same year in the final colophon of the corresponding manuscript.[65] The main difference between the attestations in the *Mahābhārata* manuscripts and the colophon we find in our Śivadharma manuscript is that, in the *Mahābhārata* case, the public reading of the manuscript happened on a date that was closer to that of the transcription of the manuscript. In the case of NAK 1–1075, by contrast, the *pārāyaṇa* took place 482 years after the manuscript was completed. Another element to take into consideration is that the information about the public reading is not added to the final colophon, but at the end of the sixth work of the collection. We could assume that this happened because the manuscript was read up to that point; alternatively, one can surmise that this was done in order to reserve a unique space for a recording which included the name of king Pratāpamalladeva. The colophon however is a precious piece of evidence that these early palm-leaf manuscripts were also used centuries after their production, and that this particular collection of texts was employed in such a way.

The information provided by the paratextual statements of NAK 1–1075 is perfectly coherent with what we know both from the texts of the Śivadharma collection and from other parallel evidence. The *Śivadharmaśāstra* refers to a public event during which its own manuscript was placed on a throne, worshipped and then taught by a teacher.[66] The *Śivadharmottara*, for its part, pays particular attention to public ceremonies involving the use of manuscripts: chapter two of the work is dedicated to the description of a ceremony called the 'gift of knowledge' (*vidyādāna*), during which a manuscript was copied, brought in procession to a temple and handled to the resident *guru*.[67] Here one chapter of the book was read in the performance of a ceremony of appeasement (*śānti*), and several other references are made to public reading sessions of manuscripts of the '*śivajñāna*', a notion that is most likely identifiable here with the same Śivadharma texts. The topic is treated again in the last chapter of the *Śivadharmottara*, where it is prescribed that public readings of the *Śivadharmottara* should take place in courts (*sabhā*), shrines (*āyatana*), sacred places (*tīrthas)*, residences of the king (*narendrabhavanā*), private houses (*gṛha*), villages (*grāma*) and towns (*pura*).[68]

Documentary evidence of the public readings of the Śivadharma texts is mostly available from southern India (see above, par. 1). As regards Nepal, we

65 See the final colophon of NAK 1–933 (NGMPP B 19/8) according to the NGMCP online catalogue.
66 See NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), fol. 40r[L.L3–5].
67 On this topic, see De Simini 2013 and forthc.
68 See NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), fol. 51v[L.5].

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should mention a Nepalese *thyasapū* (folded book), dated only a few years later than the reign of the king Pratāpamalladeva, that among the events of the year NS 796 (1675–76 CE) also records a public reading of the Śivadharma (*śivadharma pārāyaṇa*); on the same date, it records the recitation of *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s sixth chapter (*Śāntyadhyāya* or *Śāntikādhyāya*).[69] This was most likely the chapter that, according to the prescriptions contained in *Śivadharmottara*'s chapter 2, had to be read for the performance of the appeasement rite which took place soon after the manuscript had reached the temple. The success of this chapter due to its liturgical usages and auspicious character is attested by the large number of extant manuscripts transmitting only this portion of the Śivadharma corpus, both from Nepal and other areas.[70]

The Śivadharma corpus is also preserved in a variety of later Nepalese paper manuscripts, which show features similar but not identical to their palm-leaf antecedents. The main difference consists precisely of the ratio between MTMs and single-text manuscripts. While in the case of the palm-leaf materials, the choice of MTMs was strikingly prevalent, with only one (however dubious) case of single-text manuscript attested, the proportions are more balanced in the case of paper manuscripts. Alongside the usual MTMs,[71] a higher quantity of paper single-text manuscripts is extant, a circumstance from which we may not however

69 Regmi 1966, 332. I thank Alexis Sanderson for bringing this piece of evidence to my attention. On this topic, see also Sanderson forthc. b, 83 and fn. 203.

70 Besides the already mentioned Bengali manuscript (see fn. 8), there are several other Nepalese manuscripts catalogued as *Śāntyadhyāya*. Those I have directly examined and for which I can confirm that the transmitted text corresponds to the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* are: NAK 6–2301 (NGMPP A 1120/12), NAK 1–1376 (NGMPP A 1158/8), NAK 5–7344 (NGMPP A 1174/14), NAK 1–1108 (NGMPP A 1299/9), E 6489 (NGMPP E 321/26), 366 (G 19/16), I 963 (NGMPP I 54/4). It is possible, however, that many short manuscripts attributed to the *Śivadharmaśāstra* with no further details in fact only transmit its *Śāntyadhyāya* (see below).
Among the aforementioned manuscripts, only NAK 6–2301 (NGMPP A 1120/12), 366 (G 19/16) and I 963 (NGMPP I 54/4) are single-text manuscripts, while all others insert the *Śāntyadhyāya* in collections of Purāṇic chapters. This is also the case of ULC Add. 2836, a palm-leaf MTM produced in July 1396 CE: 'year 516, on the seventh [lunar day] of the dark [fortnight] of the [month] Śrāvaṇa' (see fol. 33r[L4]: *samvat 516 śrāvanakṛṣṇasaptī*). Pictures of this manuscript are available on the website of the Cambridge Digital Library under the following link: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02836/1>.
The oldest manuscript of the *Śāntyadhyāya* I was able to identify so far is E 6489 (NGMPP E 321/26), dated to 1195 CE (see fn. 61).

71 The paper MTMs that I have directly inspected are: WI δ 16; Kesar 537 (NGMPP C 107/7); Kesar 597 (NGMPP C 57/5); NAK 2–153 (NGMPP A 1042/12 and A 1043/01); NAK 4–93 (NGMPP A 1341/6); NGMPP NAK 4–1352 (NGMPP B 218/6 and 219/1); NAK 4–1567 (NGMPP B 219/8); NAK 4–1604 (NGMPP A 1365/3); NAK 4–2537 (NGMPP B 219/3); E 25521 (NGMPP E 1272/4); NGMPP E 1402/9; G

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deduce that a larger number of such items was produced; in many cases it is possible to prove, mainly due to the presence of a double foliation (see below), that quite a few single-text manuscripts were originally part of MTMs.[72] Although the increasing production of single-text manuscripts of the Śivadharma texts may have responded to a functional need, or reflected the greater success achieved by some of the works to the detriment of others, on the other hand there is only slim evidence to prove that this corresponded to a weakening of the idea of a corpus. On the contrary, even recent paper manuscripts, at times even those that transmit a single text, testify that a strong connection between the Śivadharma texts was felt, and that this connection was reinforced through codicological habits. Two manuscripts preserved at the National Archives of Kathmandu and transmitting only the *Dharmaputrikā*, which was usually the last text of the collection, provide evidence for this.[73] NAK 1–882 (NGMPP A 62/10) consists of 15 folios, which are numbered starting from fol. 1. It is complete and contains the whole *Dharmaputrikā*. A hint that this was not produced as an independent manuscript is given by the colophon following the final heading of the work, on fol. 15, listing the

65946–7 (NGMPP G 36/27). Of these, NAK 4–1567 (NGMPP B 219/8) has proven to be a composite made up of two long fragments: the first one, numbered from fol. 1 until fol. 227, and containing the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the *Śivadharmottara* (both complete) and an incomplete *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*; the second fragment starts with fol. 163 and contains again the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (incomplete), the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, the *Uttarottaramāhasaṃvāda* and the *Śivopaniṣad*. The last folio of the second fragment is numbered 359.

There are a few more paper manuscripts from the huge Nepalese collections microfilmed by the NGMPP that I have not accessed yet. In the case of these manuscripts we are sometimes only provided with very scanty catalogue information, so that all one can do is deduce, mainly on the basis of features like page-dimensions and total amount of folios, whether those were MTMs or not. Among these, the following elements are catalogued under the mere title *Śivadharma* and, on the basis of the aforementioned features, one can expect them in all probability to be MTMs: NAK 2–48 (NGMPP A 1163/2), 263 fols.; NAK 4–1604 (NGMPP B 220/3), 136 fols.; NAK 5–5370 (NGMPP B 219/2 = A 1363/7, dated to NS 816, i.e. 1695–96 CE), 194 fols.; NGMPP A 1322/3 (1–3), 255 fols.

72 Since the catalogue information available for these manuscripts is not always complete, in the absence of direct inspection we can only have a superficial idea of how many of these were produced as single-text manuscripts and how many are just severed codicological units deriving from complete MTMs. An overview of the identifications of paper single-text manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus is given in Appendix III.

73 The description of NAK 1–882 (NGMPP A 62/10) and NAK 5–5365 (NGMPP A299/9) is based on the information provided by the catalogue, available online at the following URLs: <http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_62-10_Dharmaputrikā> and <http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_299-9_Dharmaputrikā>.

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titles of the eight works of the corpus, alongside ordinal numerals which determine their position in the collection (so the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is qualified as *prathamaḥ* 'the first', the *Śivadharmottara* is *dvitīyaḥ* 'the second', and so on). This table of contents is opened by the statement *asyānukramaḥ* 'its (*scil.* 'of the manuscript') sequence [of works]:', and closed by *śivadharmo nāma mahāśāstram iti,* 'Thus [is concluded] the great treatise titled *Śivadharma*'. This manuscript is therefore plainly a severed codicological unit originally belonging to a MTM.

A very close example is that of NAK 5–5365 (NGMPP A 299/9), a manuscript dated to NS 845 (1724–25 CE) and attributed to the reign of king Yogaprakāśamalla of Patan (ca. 1722–1729 CE).[74] This manuscript is again described as *Dharmaputrikā* and, like in the former example, a table of contents after its final colophon lists the fixed set of eight titles accompanied by the total amount of folios for each work. Another hint that this single-text manuscript was originally part of a collection is that there is a double foliation system: the foliation in the left margin runs from 279 to 290, and is therefore clearly referred to a bigger manuscript, while the foliation added in the right margin numbers the folios from 1 to 12 — thus referring only to that single work.

This style of double foliation is a common feature of many paper MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus, being a clear indicator of the inner coherence and, at the same time, empirical independency that the works of the corpus might have enjoyed. When attested in a single-text manuscript, it thus can be considered evidence that the manuscript had originally been conceived as part of one MTM.[75] An example of a still complete paper MTM with a double foliation system is Kesar 597 (NGMPP C 57/5). This paper manuscript consists of 257 folios and contains the entire collection with the exception of the *Dharmaputrikā*. It was completed in NS 863 (1742–43 CE), as stated in the final colophon of the *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* on fol. 213.[76] The verso sides of its folios show, in the left margin, the abbreviated title of each work, below which is the folio number of that single text; in the right margin, another numeral indicates the page number of the whole manuscript. The works are, as usual, separated by a blank page. On the verso of the last folio, on whose recto side is the final heading of the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, somebody added a table of contents in Telugu script, in which however all eight works are

74 See Lévi 1905, 261.

75 Some examples of these attributions are listed in fn. 71.

76 See fol. 213v[L8]. The year is expressed by means of symbolic words: *guṇartvibhe*, meaning 'quality (3) – season (6) – elephant (8)'. The numbers thus obtained have to be read backwards.

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counted, including the missing *Dharmaputrikā* of 16 chapters. This table of contents was surely written by a different person than the scribe, possibly a southern reader who must have had in mind or in front of him at least one other, complete copy of the corpus.

In the colophons of palm-leaf manuscripts, we observed a tendency to consider the different works forming the Śivadharma corpus as members of the same body of texts: the paper MTMs can easily be included in this trend. Let us consider the case of NAK 2–153 (NGMPP A 1042/12 and A 1043/01), an undated paper manuscript transmitting only four works of the Śivadharma collection, i.e. the *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–58r), the *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 1v–75v), the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 1v–70v) and the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 1v–47r). The pages of each work are independently numbered, and they are made separable by leaving a blank folio between the end of a work and the beginning of the next one. This folio however is not left completely blank: written by a hand that is arguably the same as the one used in the rest of the manuscript, the recto and verso sides of these folios contain the final and initial headings of the preceding and following works, respectively. In these additional headings (they are additional since each work regularly has its final heading appended immediately after the last verse), the works are called 'sections' (*khaṇḍa*) and numbered with ordinal numbers according to the position they have in the manuscript. The idea of a corpus therefore never became weaker, and it is still possible to observe how both layout and paratexts confirm that each work was seen as just a subdivision of a bigger, unitary treatise.

3 Traditional accounts on the emergence of a corpus

The testimony of the manuscript tradition shows beyond doubt that this group of eight works was regarded as a fixed corpus in medieval Nepal. It would now be relevant to enquire whether traces of the process of corpus formation can also be spotted in the texts themselves, or if their association in a collection did not affect the composition of the works, but is solely discernible from codicological features. A rare example of intertextual references in the Śivadharma corpus is offered by the *Śivopaniṣad*, one of the works whose attachment to the corpus might, in a few cases, have been debatable. This text depicts the situation of a growing textual corpus, making explicit reference to other works of the collection with

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which it tries to establish a strong link. In its final stanzas, at the end of the seventh chapter, the *Śivopaniṣad* alludes to the composition of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara,* placing them and their respective authors in a sequence that is ideally concluded by the *Śivopaniṣad* itself:

> Thus, Kṛṣṇātreya obtained from Mahākāla this divine [and] well ascertained nectar of knowledge, in detail and due succession. / Having churned the big ocean of the knowledge of Śiva with the churning-stick of wisdom, Kṛṣṇātreya announced this very short teaching after extracting [it from there]. / If anything was left unsaid in the great *Śivadharmaśāstra* and in the *Continuation of the Śivadharma* (*scil.*: the *Śivadharmottara*), this was proclaimed in the present [work]. / This treatise, addressed to three deities, was spoken by the descendant of Atri (*scil.* Kṛṣṇātreya), a king amid ascetics, and confers liberation to the three [classes] of animals, men and gods. / Nandi, Skanda and Mahākāla are celebrated as the three deities, Candrātreya, as well as Agasti and Kṛṣṇātri as the triad of sages. / The teachings of the Śivadharma have been fully expounded by these great souls for the sake of all living beings. Obeisance to them, obeisance always! / And by their pupils, and pupils of pupils who were expounders of the Śivadharma, the lake of the knowledge of Śiva was entirely covered, like by means of blossoming lotuses. / Those who always allow the devotees of Śiva to listen to the Śivadharma, they are Rudras, and they are kings amid sages, they have to be bowed to with individual devotion. / Those who, rising up, listen to the Śivadharma day by day, they are Rudras, supreme lords of the Rudras, they are not ordinary human beings. / This *Śivopaniṣad*[77] has been transmitted in seven chapters by the sage belonging to the lineage of Kṛṣṇātreya, out of desire for the benefit [of other people].[78]

77 Note that here and in the following passage of the *Śivopaniṣad* the text is literally called *Śivopaniṣada* and treated like a neuter in *–a*.

78 The texts quoted in the next pages have been established on the basis of a collation between three Nepalese MTMs: one 11th-century palm-leaf manuscript, namely NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3) = A; one 12th-century palm-leaf manuscript, which is NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3) = B; and the paper manuscript Kesar 597 (NGMPP C 57/5) = C. I decided to work exclusively on the Nepalese tradition in closer accordance with the aims of this paper. The reader may have noticed the exclusion from this collation of NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4), which is possibly the oldest MTM attesting the collection and, therefore, a very relevant specimen. This manuscript has been omitted only because it lacks one of the passages presented in the next pages, corresponding to the incipit of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*; moreover the *Śivopaniṣad,* from which the following stanzas are quoted, figures most likely as a secondary addition in NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4). At this point I preferred to prioritise internal coherence between the selected passages, all resulting from the collation of the same manuscripts, with the awareness that the Nepalese tradition of the Śivadharma texts is however rather uniform, and that the most remarkable discrepancies concern passages that are not relevant to this study.
I have standardized the readings based on the current orthographical standards. Hence, the reported variants do not account for differences in the use of sibilants, homorganic nasals and geminated consonants.

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The revelation of the *Śivopaniṣad* is thus attributed to the sage Kṛṣṇātreya, who accessed the 'ocean of knowledge' revealed by Śiva, here portrayed as Mahākāla, who is the ultimate author of the teachings. The text reconnects itself with the two works whose authority had most likely already been acknowledged, i.e. the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, adopting a strategy that is typical of Indian religious texts seeking authoritativeness. The *Śivopaniṣad* creates this connection by making explicit reference not only to the preceding works, but also to the different phases of their mythical transmission history. By putting on the same level 'Nandi, Skanda and Mahākāla', the three expounders respectively of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the *Śivadharmottara* and the *Śivopaniṣad*, alongside their three human recipients 'Candrātreya, as well as Agasti and Kṛṣṇātri', the author of the *Śivopaniṣad* is telling his audience that those three texts belong to the same tradition, and that they ultimately have to be considered as a single unit. The actual composition of the *Śivopaniṣad* as a work in seven chapters seems not to be attributed to Kṛṣṇātri, but to a member of his clan. A similar feature occurs in the account given by the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, though in a different phase of the transmission.

The *Śivadharmaśāstra* relates the transmission of its teachings both in the prologue and in its last chapter. The initial verses depict a scene of teaching in which Śiva expounds the Śivadharma to his consort Pārvatī and an assembly composed of Nandikeśvara, Skanda and the Gaṇas.[79] Nandikeśvara, mentioned

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The next passage is based on: A fol. 19r[LL3–6], B fols. 208r[LL5–6]–208v[LL1–3], C fol. 188r[LL1–6].

[AL3, BL5, CL1] *iti jñānāmṛtaṃ divyaṃ mahākālād avāptavā***[BL6]***n* [avāpnavān B] | *vistareṇānupūrvyā* [anupūrvya *a.c.* anupurvyā *p.c.* C] *ca kṛṣṇātreyaḥ* [kṛṣṇātreya° B] *suniścitam* [saniścitam B] || *pra***[CL2]***jñāmathnā vinirmathya* [prajñāmathnāti nirmathya A; prajñām arthyaṃ vinirmathya C] *śivajñānamahodadhim* | *kṛṣṇātreyaḥ samuddhṛtya prāhedam aṇumātrakam* || *śivadharme* [śivadharma° C] *mahāśāstre śivadha***[AL4]***rmasya cottare* | *yad anuktaṃ* [avukta *a.c.*, anuktaṃ *p.c.* B] *bhavet kiṃcit tad atra parikīrtitam* || *tridaivatyam* [tridevatyam B] *idaṃ* **[CL3]** *śāstraṃ munīndrātreyabhā***[B208vL1]***ṣitam* [munīndrāmuya° *a.c.* munīndrātrāya° *p.c.* C] | *tiryagmanujadevānāṃ* [triryag° B] *trayāṇāṃ ca vimuktidam* || *nandiskandamahākālāḥ* [-skandha° *a.c.* -skanda° *p.c.* C] *trayo devāḥ prakīrtitāḥ* | *candrātreyas tathāgastiḥ kṛṣṇātriś ca munitrayam* || *etair mahātmabhiḥ proktā***[CL4]***ḥ śivadha***[AL5]***rmāḥ samāsataḥ* |*sarvalokopakārārthaṃ namas* [na *a.c.*, namaḥ *p.c.* B] *tebhyaḥ sadā namaḥ* [sadā sa namaḥ B] || **[BL2]** *teṣāṃ śiṣyapraśiṣyaiś ca śivadharmapravaktṛbhiḥ* | *vyāptaṃ jñānasaraḥ śārvaṃ vikacair* [vikaccair B] *iva paṅkajaiḥ* || *ye śrāvayanti satataṃ śivadha***[CL5]***rmaṃ śivārthinām* [śivārthinaḥ A] | *te rudrās te munīndrāś ca* [munīndrāya *A*] *te namasyāḥ svabhaktitaḥ* || *ye samutthāya śṛṇvanti śivadha***[AL6]***rmaṃ dine dine* | *te rudrā rudralokeśā na te prakṛti***[BL3]***mānuṣāḥ* || *śivopaniṣadaṃ hy etad adhyāyaiḥ sapta***[CL6]***bhiḥ smṛtaṃ* [smṛtaḥ A] | *kṛṣṇātreyasagotreṇa muninā hitakāmyayā* ||

79 The following passage is based on: A fol. 1v[LL4–6], B fols. 1v[LL5–6]–2r[L1]; C fol. 1r[LL6–8].

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in the *Śivopaniṣad* by the name Nandi as a member of the triad of gods, had then taught the Śivadharma in its entirety, as he had learned it from Śiva, to Sanatkumāra, a son of Brahmā. This passage is not referred to in the simple sketch given by the *Śivopaniṣad*, which instead refers only to the final stage of *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s transmission. Chapter 12 of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* explains that Sanatkumāra had transmitted an abridged version of the Śivadharma to a Śaiva devotee, 'member of the lineage of Candrātreya'. Candrātreya himself eventually composed the *Śivadharmaśāstra* in twelve chapters, having once again extracted the best part from the teachings transmitted by Sanatkumāra.[80]

The *Śivadharmottara* claims a simpler textual transmission. In the incipit of the text the sage Agasti requests of Skanda the teachings he had heard from Śiva.[81] Skanda was one of the eyewitnesses of the dialogue between Śiva and his

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[AL4, BL5, CL6] *paramaṃ sarvadhar***[BL6]***māṇāṃ śivadharmaṃ* [śivadharma° C] **[AL5]** *śivātmakam* | *śivena ka***[CL7]***thitaṃ pūrvaṃ pārvatyāḥ ṣaṇmukhasya* [khaṇmukhasya C] *ca* | *gaṇānāṃ devamukhyānām asmākaṃ ca* [cā° B] *viśeṣataḥ* || *ajñānārṇavamagnānāṃ sarveṣām prāṇinām ayam* [ātmabhāvinām B C] | *śivadharmoḍupaḥ* [śivadharmati° *a.c.*, śivadharmoḍu° *p.c.* C] *śrīmān uttārārtham u***[CL8]***dāhṛtaḥ* [uḍadā° *a.c.*, udā° *p.c.* C] || *yair ayaṃ* **[B2rL1]** *śāntacetaskaiḥ* [°cetaḥ skaiḥ A] *śivabhaktaiḥ śivārthibhiḥ* | *saṃsevyate paro dharmas te rudrā* **[AL6]** *nātra saṃśayaḥ* |; 'Supreme among all the dharmas, the Śivadharma ensouled by Śiva was revealed in the past by Śiva to Pārvatī and to the six-faced God, / To the Gaṇas, to the best among the Gods and in particular to us. / For all the living beings who are sinking in the flood of ignorance this raft, which is the Śivadharma, illustrious, has been taught, in order to [facilitate their] crossing over. / Those who, having a tranquil mind, devoted to Śiva, supplicants of Śiva, devotedly resort to this supreme Dharma, [are] Rudras, no doubt about it.'

80 The following passage is based on: A fol. 40v[LL1–2], B fols. 44r[L6]–44v[L1], C fols. 40v[L9]–41r[LL1–2]

[AL1, BL6, CL9] *śrutvaivam akhilaṃ dharmam ā*[C41rL1]*khyātaṃ brahmasūnunā* | *ca*[B44vL1]*ndrātreyasagotrāya śivabhaktāya sāravat* || *sārāt sāraṃ samuddhṛtya candrātreyeṇa dhīmatā* | *uktaṃ* [uktā B] *ca dvādaśādhyāyaṃ dharmaśāstraṃ śivātmakam* || *yāvad asyopadeśena śiva*[CL2]*dharmaṃ samācaret* | *tāvat tasyāpi tatpuṇyam upa*[AL2]*deśān na saṃśayaḥ* ||; 'Having thus heard the Dharma that was entirely announced, complete with its essence, by the son of Brahmā (scil. Sanatkumāra) to a devotee of Śiva, member of the lineage of Candrātreya, / And having extracted the best of the best, the wise Candrātreya taught the Dharmaśāstra belonging to Śiva in twelve chapters. / As long as [one] will practice the Śivadharma according to the teaching of this [work], then from the teaching the merit [contained] in it [will emerge] for him as well, no doubt.'

81 The following passage is based on: A fol. 1v[LL1–2]; B fol. 46v[LL1–2]; C fol. 42r[LL1–3]

[AL1, BL1, CL1] *jñānaśaktidharaṃ śāntaṃ* **[CL2]** *kumāraṃ śaṅkarātmajam* | *devāriskandanaṃ skandam agastiḥ paripṛcchati* || *bhagavan darśanāt tubhyam antajasyāpi* [antayasyāpi C] [AL2, BL2] *sadgatiḥ* [saṅgatiḥ A saṃgatiḥ C] | *saptajanmāni vipras tu svargād bhraṣṭaḥ prajāyate* || *yenāsi* [tenāsi A C] *nātha bhūtānāṃ* [CL3] *sarveṣām anukampakaḥ* | *ataḥ sarvahitaṃ dharmaṃ saṃkṣepāt prabravīhi me* || *dharmā bahuvidhā devyā devena kathitāḥ kila* | *te ca śrutās tvayā* [tayā C] *sarve pṛcchāmi tvām ahaṃ tataḥ* ||; 'Agasti asks Skanda, the holder of the spear of knowledge, the pacified youth, born from Śiva, slayer of the Asuras: / O Bhagavān, [just] by seeing you a good rebirth

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consort, and had therefore listened to the 'multiform *dharmas*' taught by the god. He reveals those teachings to Agasti in a concise form, and from these Agasti will successively extract the version of the *Śivadharmottara* in twelve chapters.[82] The transmission and composition of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* thus happened in three main steps (Śiva-Nandikeśvara; Nandikeśvara-Sanatkumāra; Sanatkumāra-Candrātreya, the last passage mediated by a unspecified member of Candrātreya's clan), those of the *Śivadharmottara* in two (Śiva-Skanda; Skanda-Agasti), while the *Śivopaniṣad* had first been abridged by Kṛṣṇātreya, who had learned the teachings directly from Śiva, and then composed by a member of his family. By associating its divine and human authors with those of the earlier and well-known texts, the author(s) of the *Śivopaniṣad* thus attempt to construct a canon in which the revelation of the 'Dharma of Śiva' has not only a beginning, but also an end. Although the text makes explicit reference only to these works, the existence of other teachers of the Śivadharma is alluded to by the mention of those 'pupils, and pupils of pupils who were expounders of the Śivadharma'. A similar reference to other teachers who taught the Śivadharma in their books is in the final statements of the first chapter:

> After worshipping according to procedure [and] with devotion the glorious Mahākāla, destroyer of death, who sits on the peak of mount Kailāsa [and] is venerated by all gods, the Lord [who] has crossed over knowledge, Kṛṣṇātreya, endowed with great self-control, the great ascetic, for the welfare of all beings, asked this: / 'How are those slow-minded people, who cannot understand the *jñānayoga*, liberated from the frightful ocean of existence, o Bhagavān?' / Being thus asked by the wise Kṛṣṇātreya, Mahākāla, well-disposed, spoke for the sake of the liberation of the slow-minded people. / Mahākāla said: 'The eternal teachings of the Śivadharma, expounded in the past by Rudra to the Goddess and all the Gaṇas, [have been expounded] in brief with tens of millions of stanzas. / Having considered the

[comes to pass] even for a man of the lowest caste. Once he then falls from Heaven, he is reborn as a Brahmin for seven lives. / Since, o Lord, you are compassionate towards all beings, therefore concisely tell me the Dharma that is beneficial to all. / People say that many kinds of *dharmas* have been taught by the God to the Goddess, and they have all been heard by you. For this reason I ask you.'

82 The following passage is based on: A fols. 51r[L6]–51v[L1], B fol. 100r[LL3–4], C fol. 50r[LL4–5].
[AL6, BL3, CL4] *uktaṃ dvādaśasāhasraṃ śivadharmottaraṃ mahat* | *agastaye munīndrāya kumāreṇa mahātmanā* || [A51vL1] *itīha karmayogasya jñānayogasya ta*[BL4]*ttvataḥ* | *dharmādharmagatīnāṃ ca svarūpam upavarṇi*[CL5]*taṃ* || *ity etad akhilaṃ budhvā saṃkṣipyāgastir abravīt* | *dvādaśādhyāyasaṃyuktam iti sāraṃ vimuktidam* || 'The great *Śivadharmottara*, consisting of 12,000 [stanzas], has been expounded to Agasti, king amid sages, by Kumāra, the great-souled one. / In this way, here [he] truly described the nature of *karmayoga* [and] *jñānayoga*, [and] of the paths of Dharma and Adharma. / Having learned this in its entirety and having abridged [it], Agasti thus spoke in twelve chapters the essence that confers emancipation.'

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> [finite] life-span of men, [their limited] knowledge as well as [their meagre] power in this [mundane existence], and [their] affliction by means of a triad of torments, as well as the thirst for enjoyment [and] the delusion, / Those teachings have been taught by Skanda and Nandi, as well as by other very venerable ascetics, having taken just the essence [of them], in different independent compositions. / I will expound to you, for the benefit of the world, the great essence [extracted] from the essence [of these teachings], [namely] the supreme *Śivopaniṣad,* which is small as regards the number of stanzas, but [treats] very important topics.'[83]

The *Śivopaniṣad* therefore acknowledges the existence not only of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, but also other independent books, other *śivadharmā*s attributed to unspecified 'venerable ascetics' whose teachings ultimately go back to Śiva. The work sketches here a situation in which various texts claiming their affiliation to the same tradition had been composed — roughly the same situation which seems to emerge from the codicological features of the early Nepalese MTMs.

4 Conclusions: The Śivadharma corpus, history and manuscript studies

The creation of the Śivadharma corpus and the production of manuscripts which established and organised this corpus are intrinsically connected with the cultural and religious environment of medieval Nepal, which saw the constant popularity of Śiva Paśupati in the Kathmandu valley and its connection with royal power from at least the 7th century. At that time, the king Aṃśuvarman (d. 639/640 CE) was the

83 The following passage is based on: A fol. 1v[LL1–3], B fol. 189v[LL1–4], C fol. 171v[LL1–5]
[AL1, BL1, CL1] *kailāsaśikharāsīnam aśeṣāmarapūjitaṃ* | *kālaghnaṃ śrīmahākālam* [śrīmaha° B] *īśvaraṃ jñānapāragam* || *saṃpūjya vidhivad bhaktyā kṛṣṇātreyaḥ susaṃyataḥ* | *sarvabhūtahitārthāya papracchedaṃ* [prapracchedaṃ A B] *mahāmu***[CL2]***niḥ* || *jñānayogaṃ na vindanti ye narā mandabuddhayaḥ* | **[BL2]** *te mucyante kathaṃ* [katha B] *ghorād bhagava***[AL2]***n bhavasāgarāt* || *evaṃ pṛṣṭaḥ prasannātmā kṛṣṇātreyeṇa dhīmatā* | *mandabuddhivimuktyarthaṃ* [°artha *a.c.*, °arthaḥ *p.c.* C] *mahākālaḥ prabhāṣate* || **[CL3]** *mahākāla uvāca* || *purā rudreṇa gaditāḥ śivadharmāḥ* [śivadharmaḥ *a.c.*, śivadharmāḥ *p.c.* C] *sanātanāḥ* [śivadharmasanātanāḥ B] | *devyāḥ sarvagaṇānāṃ ca saṃkṣepād* [saṃkṣepā B] *granthakoṭibhiḥ* || *āyuḥ* [āyu° B] *pra***[BL3]***jñāṃ tathā śaktiṃ prasamīkṣya nṛṇām iha* | *tāpa***[AL3]***trayaprapīḍāṃ ca bhogatṛ***[CL4]***ṣṇāñ ca mohinīṃ* [bhogatṛṣṇā ca mohinī A B] || *te dharmā skandanandibhyām anyaiḥ ca munisattamaiḥ* [munisattamaḥ B] | *sāram ādāya nirdiṣṭāḥ pṛthakprakaraṇāntaraiḥ* [°prakarāṇāntaraiḥ A] || *sārād api mahāsāraṃ śivopaniṣadaṃ param* [śivopaniṣada° B] | *alpagranthaṃ* [alpagrantha° A] *mahārthaṃ ca prava***[CL5]***kṣyā***[BL4]***mi jagaddhitam* ||.

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first to be referred to in epigraphs by means of the epithet 'favoured by the feet of Lord Paśupati'.[84] In one of the examined documents (see colophon of NAK 5–737, NGMPP A 3/3) an abbreviated form of this epithet was attested in the year 1201 CE and referred to the king Arimalla. Devotion towards Paśupati is in fact also claimed in the standard epithets chosen in Malla times (13th–18th century) and by the subsequent Shah dynasty.[85] However strong the connection between monarchical power and Śaivism, surveys of historical documents have shown that since the Licchavi kings (attested in inscriptions from the 5th until the 8th century), devotion towards Śiva was parallel to the large and well-documented royal support granted to Buddhism.[86] As is often the case for Indian religious traditions and their connection to power, the support granted to one did not automatically imply the rejection of others; the establishment of Buddhist *vihāra*s by monarchical supporters is therefore not incompatible with the attestations of the Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava faith of those same kings. An example is the figure of Guṇakāmadeva I (ca. 980–998 CE), to whom sources attribute both the foundation of Buddhist monasteries and sumptuous donations to Paśupati.[87] Various forms of religious coexistence are documented for the Licchavis, for Aṃśuva-rman's reign and for the Mallas, as well as for the lesser known Ṭhākurī kings, who ruled between the 8th and 13th century. This corresponds to the period in which palm-leaf manuscripts start being attested and are mostly in use, and as a consequence this is when the earliest manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus are chiefly documented. The production of such manuscripts responded not only to the practical need of transmitting the rules of behaviour to the lay Śaiva community, but also to the donors' will of accumulating merit: the sponsor who commissioned the copy of the manuscript is explicitly mentioned, in the genitive case, in the colophons of E 6489 (NGMPP E 321/26) of 1195 CE and NAK 5–737, (NGMPP A 3/3) of 1201 CE, and in the last case the colophon specifies that the donor Somadeva was 'longing for Heaven, pleasures, wealth and liberation' (see par. 2). The texts of the collection, not unlike many other Indian texts, exhorted the followers and devotees to copy and donate the manuscripts in exchange for religious merits. Besides this,

84 *bhagavatpaśupatibhaṭṭārakapādānugṛhītaḥ* / °*pādānudhyātaḥ*. See Sanderson 2003–2004, 417, fn. 254, and Mirnig 2013.

85 A standard epithet among the Malla kings of the region was *paśupatipaticaraṇakamaladhūlidhūsaritaśiroruha*, 'with their hair made grey with the pollen of the lotuses that are the feet of Glorious Paśupati' (Sanderson 2003–2004, 417, fn. 254).

86 Sanderson 2009, 74–77.

87 Petech 1984, 32–34; Sanderson 2009, 77–78 and fn. 120.

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these texts were also used for liturgical purposes, both in the performance of appeasement rites and in ritual readings on the occasion of public festivities, as pointed out in par. 2. Their production therefore represents a further evidence of the liveliness of Śaivism until more recent phases of Nepalese history.

Besides the undated manuscripts that can be ascribed to this same time span (for which see Appendix I; it is unfortunately impossible to give a precise dating on the sole basis of palaeography), palm-leaf manuscripts related to the Śivadharma corpus provide historical evidence both for the Ṭhākurī kings, especially in the later phases of their history, and for the emergence and dominance of the Malla power, testifying that their production was kept constant over the course of time. To partially sum up part of the data expounded in the preceding pages, we recall that, among the dated palm-leaf manuscripts examined so far, the earliest (ASC G 4077) is attributed to Lakṣmīkāmadeva I (ca. 1010–1041 CE); the colophon of manuscript NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3) does not mention any ruling monarch, but can be ascribed to the first year of Śaṅkaradeva's reign (1069–1082 CE).[88] Another early dated manuscript is ULC Add. 1645, which does not explicitly mention the current ruling king either, who however at the time of its composition (1138–39 CE) is supposed to be Mānadeva (1136–1140 CE). This was a little known sovereign possibly belonging to the line of Indradeva (ca. 1126–1136 CE), successor of the more famous Śivadeva (1098–1126 CE).[89] Mānadeva was associated with the erection of the Buddhist monastery of Cakravarṇamahāvihāra (Cūka Bāhaḥ).[90]

One of our dated palm-leaf manuscripts was completed during the reign of Rudradeva II, namely NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3, dated to 1170 CE), which even praises the king in its elaborate metrical colophon (see par. 2 and fn. 59).[91] Older chronicles do not report anything about Rudradeva, whereas in the more modern *vaṃśāvalī*s, whose value as historical document is however questionable, he is even said to have been a Buddhist monk.[92] His connection with Buddhism may however be considered historical, as two Buddhist monasteries in the Kathmandu valley are possibly attributed to him.[93] A few years after Rudradeva's reign, a manu-

88 Petech 1984, 46.
89 Petech 1984, 51–59.
90 Sanderson 2009, 78.
91 Petech places Rudradeva's coronation in 1167 CE, basing his dating on a conjecture of a reading transmitted by a local chronicle (Petech 1984, 69).
92 Petech 1984, 70.
93 These monasteries are, as in Sanderson 2009 (77–78), the Jyotirmahāvihāra (Jyo Bāhāḥ) and Dattamahāvihāra (Dau Bāhāḥ). There is however the possibility of a confusion with a former Rudradeva (ca. 1007–1018 CE).

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script of the Śivadharma corpus (Bodl. Or. B 125) is dated to the reign of Guṇakāmadeva II. According to chronicles his coronation took place on December 11, 1184 CE, and his reign lasted only three years.[94] Our Śivadharma manuscript penned in 1187 CE therefore belongs to what is possibly the last year of his reign; the scribe attributes to him the royal titles of *rājādhirājaparameśvara,* 'great king, highest sovereign'. As Petech notes, most of the documents he examined for this reign address Guṇakāmadeva in a much simpler way.

Guṇakāmadeva II and his successors are the latest kings preceding the inception of the Malla dynasty, a passage that is well attested by the colophons of our palm-leaf manuscripts. E 6489 (NGMPP E 321/26), a MTM containing the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and dated by two colophons to 1196 CE (see fn. 61), is attributed to the rather obscure reign of Vijayakāmadeva, possibly a relative (or son) of Guṇakāmadeva II. This manuscript is remarkably ascribed to a time span (1192–1197 CE) to which documents also assign the rulership of Lakṣmīkāmadeva II.[95] To the same period (NS 315, 1194–95 CE) also belonged another manuscript of the Śivadharma corpus, i.e. the apograph of NAK 5–841 (NGMPP B 12/4. See fn. 57).

The production of Śivadharma MTMs was much supported during the Malla kingdom, and their attestations grow as the use and production of paper increase until surpassing that of palm-leaf.[96] Some of the examined palm-leaf materials witness pivotal moments in the history of the Mallas. One is certainly NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3), attributed to 1201 CE, the first year of Arimalla's reign (1200–1216 CE). It has already been observed (see par. 2) that Arimalla is afforded here the full royal title and epithets which underline his devotion to Śiva and in particular to Paśupati, who will be a paramount deity during the Malla era. Starting with the reign of Jayasthitimalla (1382–1395 CE), however, documents also attest to the growth of the cult of the goddess Māneśvarī, as well as an increasing support granted to Vaiṣṇavism, as also witnessed by royal epithets.[97] This was not, however, to the detriment of support for Śaivism, so that under the reign of Pratāpamalla (1641–1674 CE) the Śivadharma corpus was still used in public ceremonies,

94 Petech 1984, 73.

95 Petech 1984, 74, hypothesises that also Lakṣmīkāmadeva might have been a son of Guṇakāmadeva.

96 As pointed out by Losty (1982, 11), although paper-making was attested in Nepal already by the 12th century (the first extant paper manuscripts being dated to 1105 and 1185 CE), it is only starting with the 16th century that paper manuscripts outnumber those on palm-leaf.

97 Petech 1984, 204–205.

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and a huge number of paper manuscripts of the corpus is produced under the rulership of the Mallas (see par. 2).

Two of the latest palm-leaf manuscripts related to the Śivadharma corpus are dated to the same year, NS 516 (1395–96 CE). These are the Śivadharma corpus manuscript NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3, for which see fn. 61) and ULC Add. 2836, a MTM attesting the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* in an anthology of chapters from Purāṇic works (its dating is treated in fn. 70). This year marked a delicate passage in Nepalese history, since it corresponds to the beginning of the co-rulership of Jayasthitimalla's three sons. Such event marked the succession to a sovereign who was celebrated by later chronicles as an influential reformer, and whose reign is believed to represent 'the end of a period of division and the restoration of order'.[98] While the colophons of NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3) do not mention any ruling kings, the colophon of ULC Add. 2836 explicitly refers to the triarchy (°*trayasaṃmate rājye*) of Jayadharma, Jayajyoti and Jayakīrtti.[99] These political conditions persisted when NAK 1–1376 (NGMPP A 1158/8) of the *Śāntyadhyāya* was produced, in the month of Bhādrapada of the NS 522, corresponding to August–September 1402 CE (see fol. 20v[L3]).

The information that can be extracted from the study of the MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus is rich and varied, covering purely codicological issues as well as offering glimpses into the cultural practices and political life of medieval Nepal. These manuscripts are a great example of how all the elements that surround and organise a text are functional to its contents and uses, and that the two levels of analysis are mutually connected. The knowledge of this tradition will be much improved as the critical work on the texts proceeds, making it possible to establish relationships between manuscripts not only on the basis of textual variants, but also taking into account the various codicological features which were essential to the making of this corpus.

98 Petech 1984, 144.

99 ULC Add. 2836, fol. 33r[LL2–4]: *likhita<ṃ> pustaka<ṃ> sāntikā • dhyāyaṃ || tasmin samaye śrīrājādhi<rā>jajeṣṭha{ḥ}* [L3] *jorāyadharmmadevamadhyaśrīja • yajotimaladeva{ḥ}kaneṣṭhajayakīrttimala*[L4]*devatrayasaṃmate rājye kṛtaṃ ||*
This colophon is also examined by Petech 1984, 147.

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5 Appendix I: Nepalese MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus

This section provides information only on those Nepalese MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus that have been directly inspected and have been discussed or mentioned in this study. For other manuscripts not falling into this category — like those at the Asiatic Society of Calcutta — the reader is referred to the pertinent catalogues. Nepalese MTMs transmitting the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* have been included in the following entries.

- Bodl. Or. B 125. Palm-leaf, dated to NS 307 (1186–87 CE), 335 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v[1]–15v[1]/12r–49v); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 50v–113v); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 114v–159v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 160v–197v); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 198v–219v); *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 220v–247r); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 248v–299r); *Dharmaputrikā* (fols. 300v–312r).
- E 25521 (NGMPP E 1272/4). Paper, 134 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–60v), *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 61r–134v).
- E 6489 (NGMPP E 321/26), palm-leaf, dated to NS 316 (1195–96 CE), 63 extant folios. The *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is at fols. 1v–18v.
- Kesar 218 (NGMPP C 25/1). Palm-leaf, 298 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–57r); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 57v–134v); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 135r–215v);
  Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda (fols. 216v–255r); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 256v–278r); *Umottara°/ Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 279v–299v*); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (?*–?*); (?–?*).
- Kesar 537 (NGMPP C 107/7). Paper, dated to NS 803 (1682–83 CE), 174 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 89r–133v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 134r–163v); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 164r–181r); *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 182r–206v); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 207r–251v); *Dharmaputrikā* (fols. 252r–262v).
- Kesar 597 (NGMPP C 57/5). Paper, dated to NS 863 (1742–43 CE), 257 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–41v); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 42v–92r); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 93v–138v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 139v–170v); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 171v–188r); *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 189v–213r); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 214v–257r).
- NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3= A 1082/2). Palm-leaf, dated to NS 290 (1169–70 CE), 289 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–45r), *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 46v–101r), *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 102v–162v), *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*

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(fols. 163v–188r), *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 189v–208v), *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 209v–264v), *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 265v–278v), *Dharmaputrikā* (fols. 279v–290v).

— NAK 1–1108 (NGMPP A 1299/9). Paper, *thyāsapu*, 109 folios, no foliation. Contents: various works, among which the *Śukrastuti* of the *Skandapurāṇa*, the *Bhīmasenastotra* of the *Varāhapurāṇa,* and the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*.

— NAK 1/1261 (NGMPP A 10/5). Contents: *Śivadharmottara* (fol. 34v*–?*); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 119v–146v); *Śivopaniṣad* (?*–?*); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (?–?).

— NAK 1–1376 (NGMPP A 1158/8). Palm-leaf, dated to NS 522 (1401–02 CE), 28 folios. Contents: *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* at fols. 1v–20v.

— NAK 2–153 (NGMPP A 1042/12 and A 1042/1). Paper, 270 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–58r); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 1v–75v); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 1v–70v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 1v–47r).

— NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3). Palm-leaf, dated to NS 189 (1068–69 CE), 274 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–41r), *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 1v–52v), *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 1v–57v), *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 1v–32v), *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 1v–19r), *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 1v–46r), *Dharmaputrikā* (fols. 1v–12r), *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 1v–24r).

— NAK 4–1352 (NGMPP B 218/6). Paper, dated to NS 814 (1693–94 CE), 258 folios. Contents: *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 1r–36r); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 1r–20v); *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–49v)*; Śivadharmottara* (fols. 1v–65v)*; Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 1r–60v).

— NAK 4–1567 (NGMPP B 219/8). Paper, 433 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–68r); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 69r–157r); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 158r–227r*); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 163r*–238v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 239r–292r); *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 293r–329r); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 330v–359r).

— NAK 4–1604 (NGMPP A 1365/3). Paper, 90 folios. Contents: *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 166v–184r); *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 185v–210r); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 211v–255r). For a description of this manuscript, see the record in the NGMCP online catalogue: <http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_1365-3(1)_Śivopaniṣad>

— NAK 4–2537 (NGMPP B 219/3). Paper, 339 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–58r); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 59v–123v); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 124v–161v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 162v–238v); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 239v–338v).

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— NAK 4–93 (NGMPP A 1341/6). Paper, 82 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 91r*–135v); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 204r*–243v).
— NAK 5–7344 (NGMPP A 1174/14). Paper *thyāsapu*, dated to NS 799 (1678–79 CE), 39 folios, no foliation. Contents: various works, among which *Hariharastava*, *Durgāstotra*, and the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*.
— NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3 = A 1081/5). Palm-leaf, dated to NS 321 (=1200–01 CE), 215 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–46r); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 45v–100v); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* missing (only a few folios extant, like 124 and 143); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 152v–184v); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 185v–204r); *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 204v–226v); *Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha* (fols. 227v–264v*); *Dharmaputrikā* (fols. 275r*–276r). For a description of this manuscript, see the record in the NGMCP online catalogue: <http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_3-3(1)_Śivadharma>.
— NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3): Palm-leaf, dated to NS 516 (1395–96 CE), 253 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–43r); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 4v–95r); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 96v–139v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 140v–171r); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 172v–189r); *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 190v–211v); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 212v–257v). For a description of this manuscript, also see the record in the NGMCP online catalogue: <http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_11-3_Śivadharmottara>.
— NAK 5–841 (NGMPP B 12/4). Palm-leaf, 142 folios; it dates its apograph to NS 315 (1194–95 CE). Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–47r); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 48v–109v); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 110r–150v*).
— NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4). Palm-leaf, 157 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 34r*–48v); *Śivadharmottara (*fols. 48v–109v); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 109v–162r); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 162r–191v); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 1v–13v*).
— NGMPP E 1402/09. Paper, 176 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 2r*–44v); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 44v–98v*); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 100r–151v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 151v–177r*).
— NGMPP G 36/27. Paper, 79 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1v–45v); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 45v–78v*).
— ULC Add. 1645. Palm-leaf, dated to NS 259 (1138–39 CE), 247 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 1r–38r); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 38r–87r); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 87r–132r); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 132r–150v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 150v–180v); *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 180v–201v); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 201v–238v); *Dharmaputrikā* (fols. 238v–247r). For a description of this manuscript, see the online record on the Cambridge Digital Library website: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01645/1>.

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— ULC Add. 1694. Palm-leaf, 258 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fols. 3*v–41v); *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 42r–89r); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 90r–136r); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 137r–167v); *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda* (fols. 170r–192v); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 193r–238v); *Dharmaputrikā* (fols. 240v–244*v); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 126r–142v), described as Add. 16942. For a description of this manuscript, see the online record on the Cambridge Digital Library website: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01694-00001/1>.
— ULC Add. 2102. Palm-leaf, 96 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmottara* (fols. 41r–113r); *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (fols. 115r–173v); *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (fols. 174v–212v); *Śivopaniṣad* (fols. 215v–236r); *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (fols. 237r–322v); *Dharmaputrikā* (only fol. 322v). For a description of this manuscript, see the online record on the Cambridge Digital Library website: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02102/1>.
— ULC Add. 2836. Palm-leaf, dated to NS 516 (1395–96 CE), 62 folios. The *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is at fols. 1v–32v.
— WI δ 16 (I–VIII). Paper, 406 folios. Contents: *Śivadharmaśāstra* (serial no. 634), fols. 1v–63r; *Śivadharmottara* (s. no. 635), fols. 64r–143v; *Śivadharmasaṃgraha* (s. no. 633), fols. 144r–217v; *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (s. no. 652), fols. 218v–263v; *Śivopaniṣad* (s. no. 636), fols. 264r–297v; *Uttarottarama-hāsaṃvāda* (s. no. 654), fols. 298r–324r; *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* (s. no. 657), fols. 325r–390r; *Dharmaputrikā* (s. no. 608), fols. 391r–406r. Described in: Dominik Wujastyk (1985). *A Handlist of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, vol. 1.* London, The Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine.

6 Appendix II: Manuscripts of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* outside Nepal

As observed in paragraph 1, the two works opening the Nepalese MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus are well attested in manuscript sources outside Nepal, both in the northern regions of Kashmir and Bengal and in the Tamil-speaking South.

As regards Kashmir, there are three paper single-text manuscripts in *śāradā* script transmitting the *Śivadharmaśāstra*,[100] two of which are preserved in the Ori-

100 I thank Alexis Sanderson for bringing to my attention the existence of these manuscripts, on which see also Sanderson forthc. b, 84, fn. 210.

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ental Library of Shrinagar (ORL 913 and 1467, *Śivadharmacarita*), and one at Benares Hindu University (BHU 7/3986 *Nandikeśvarasaṃhitā Śivadharmaśāstra*).[101] Moreover, an incomplete Devanāgarī paper manuscript of the *Śivadharmottara* is mentioned in the list of purchases made by Georg Bühler in Kashmir in the years 1875–1876.[102]

From Bengal, I have examined a paper MTM in Bengali script containing the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara,* preserved at the University Library of Cambridge (Add. 1599 *Śivadharmottara*), dated to *śaka* 1604 (1682–83 CE). Another manuscript in Bengali script was furthermore noticed by Mitra.[103] This manuscript, which I have not been able to locate yet, shows some peculiarities: it is apparently a work consisting of 21 chapters bearing both the title *Nandikeśvarasaṃhitā* — an alternative name for the *Śivadharmaśāstra* — and *Śivadharmottara*. The initial verses quoted by Mitra do correspond to the incipit of the *Śivadharmaśāstra,* as well as the brief summaries of the contents, which unfortunately are not carefully matched with the corresponding chapters. As for the rest of the work, on the basis of Mitra's summary, it seems possible to spot analogies with the topics treated by the *Śivadharmottara,* although their arrangement is different. Supposing that the large number of chapters (21) would encompass the 12 chapters of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* followed by those of the *Śivadharmottara*, the total amount should then equal 24. Moreover, the last colophon quoted by Mitra does read 'thus [ends] the 21st chapter of the *Śivadharmottara* belonging to the composition of Nandikeśvara' (*iti nandikeśvarasaṃhitāyāṃ śiva-dharmottare ekaviṃśatimo 'dhyāya<ḥ>*), but the stanzas quoted as the final verses of this 21st chapter are not traceable in the *Śivadharmottara*. Shastri accounts for another manuscript in Bengali script containing only the sixth chapter of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and dated to *śaka* 1563 (1641–42 CE).[104]

Both the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* are well attested in the South. The Adyar Library in Chennai owns a few manuscripts in Telugu and Grantha script catalogued as *Śivadharmottara*,[105] whereas one Grantha and one Tel-

101 I thank Peter Pasedach for sending me a few pictures of the Benares manuscript, thus allowing me to confirm its identification with the *Śivadharmaśāstra*.

102 See Bühler 1877, VII, Appendix 1, where this manuscript is listed as number 96.

103 Mitra 1882, vol. 6, 272–274, no. 2208.

104 Shastri 1928, 714.

105 Pandits of the Adyar Library 1926, 158, and 1928, 191. Following the list of the manuscripts catalogued as *Śivadharmottara* along with their descriptive sigla according to the old system (1926) and the one currently in use in the Adyar Library (in brackets): palm-leaf manuscript, Telugu script, described as 30 C 20 Ā 332 (= 73890); palm-leaf manuscript, Telugu script, described as 19 H 4 Ā 338

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ugu manuscript are catalogued respectively as *Śivadharma* and *Śivadharmaśāstra*.[106] The Government Oriental Manuscript Library of Chennai holds, according to the catalogue, one palm-leaf manuscript and four paper manuscripts of the *Śivadharma*, and two paper manuscripts of the *Śivadharmottara*.[107] Furthermore, the Institut Français de Pondichéry (IFP) owns a manuscript of various Śaiva works in Grantha script (RE 43643)[108] which also contains the *Śivadharmottara*;[109] this manuscript has been copied in the Devanāgarī paper transcript T281 of the IFP. My colleague Marco Franceschini, who is now studying the transmission of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* in Tamil Nadu, pointed out to the existence of several other manuscripts in Grantha script owned by the IFP.[110] The IFP Devanāgarī paper transcripts of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Śivadharmottara*, all realised on the basis of palm-leaf manuscripts in southern scripts, are: T32 *Śivadharmaśāstra*, T72a *Śivadharma*, T72b *Śivadharmottara* (actually containing the *Śivadharmaśāstra*), T75 *Śivadharmottara*, T281 *Śivadharmottara* (alongside

(= 66474); palm-leaf manuscript, Telugu script, described as 19 A 15 Ā 156 (= 66014); palm-leaf manuscript, Grantha script, described as 33 K 5 Gra 78 (= 75425).

106 Pandits of the Adyar Library 1928, p. 191. Following the list of the manuscripts catalogued as *Śivadharma* and *Śivadharmaśāstra* along with their descriptive sigla according to the old system (1926) and the one currently in use in the Adyar Library (in brackets): palm-leaf manuscript, Telugu script, '*Śivadharmaśāstram*', described as 19 A 16 Ā 144 (= 66015); palm-leaf manuscript, Grantha script, '*Śivadharma*', described as 33 K 9 Gra 10 (= 75429).

107 The details given in the alphabetical list (Subrahmanya Sastri 1940, p. 804) are as follows: with the title *Śivadharma*, the catalogue lists one incomplete palm-leaf manuscript in Telugu script, no. R. 1100 (a); one complete paper manuscript in Grantha characters, no. R. 2442 (a); one incomplete paper manuscript in Malayala characters, no. R. 2822 (b); one incomplete paper manuscript in Telugu characters, no. D. 5507; one incomplete manuscript in Telugu characters, no. D. 5508. Under the title *Śivadharmottarakhaṇḍaḥ*, lit. '*Śivadharmottara* section', two complete paper manuscripts in Grantha characters are listed as R. 1356 and R. 2442 (b). Manuscript R. 2442 thus contains both the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*. As Franceschini pointed out during a workshop held in Hamburg on the manuscript tradition of the Śivadharma corpus (23/6/2016, *Śivajñānapustakāni – 'Books of Śaiva Knowledge': The 'Śivadharma' tradition and its contribution to the study of Indian manuscript cultures*), in Tamil Nadu the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* are often considered two 'portions' of the same work, a notion that also emerges in the colophons of the manuscripts in Grantha script: in the final colophon of the manuscript RE47849, the Śivadharmaśāstra is explicitly called the 'first part' (pūrva) of the Śivadharma.

108 See no. 757 of the manuscript handlist.

109 I thank Dominic Goodall for making available colour pictures of this and other manuscripts from the marvellous collections of Pondichéry.

110 These are RE47849, RE12650, RE35178, RE53247, RE25374 and RE47669. The latter is however entirely devoured by insects. I thank Marco Franceschini for kindly sharing this information.

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other works), T449 *Puṇyāhavidhi* (containing various works, among which only the fifth chapter of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*), T451 *Śivadharmaśāstra* (fifth chapter), T510 *Śivadharmottara*, T514 *Śivadharma*, T779 *Śivadharmaśāstra*, T860 *Śivadharma*, T887 *Śivadharma*, T912 *Śivadharma*. All these transcripts can be consulted and downloaded from the digital library of the Muktabodha Indological Research Institute: http://www.muktabodha.org.

The collection of Thanjavur owns a further palm-leaf manuscript of the '*Śivadharma* by Nandikeśvara' (i.e. *Śivadharmaśāstra*) in Grantha script, catalogued in the section on 'Nibandhas or Digests and Compilations'.[111] This must have been part of a bigger codex, since the foliation is reported as starting from fol. 99 and ending with fol. 150. The same library also owns two Devanāgarī paper transcripts of the *Śivadharmottara*.[112]

A palm-leaf manuscript of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* in Grantha characters belonging to the former Van Manen Collectie is kept at the University Library of Leiden and catalogued as II.40. The date of this manuscript is verified as April 22, 1830 CE.[113]

I was recently able to photograph a palm-leaf Malayala manuscript of the *Śivadharmottara* held in London at the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland: Winternitz[114] reports it as Whish no. 162, but it is now described as South Indian MS 156A. According to Aufrecht, this manuscript is dateable approximately from the 17th to the 18th century.[115] Other Malayala single-text manuscripts of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Śivadharmottara* are held at the Oriental Research Institute and Manuscript Library in Thiruvananthapuram. Among these manuscripts, there is also an unpublished *Śivadharmavivaraṇa*.[116]

111 Burnell 1880, 138, manuscript no. 9470. This is no. 15300 in Subrahmanya Sastri 1934, 8452. It seems to be a fragment from a bigger manuscript (leaves are counted from 99 to 150) and, according to the information provided by the colophon, the surviving portion only contains the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*.

112 Burnell 1880, 195, manuscripts nos 1725 and 1726. These correspond to 10555 and 10556 in Subrahmanya Sastri 1932, 7156.

113 I thank Giovanni Ciotti and Marco Franceschini for verifying the date of this manuscript.

114 Winternitz 1902, 214, no. 156.

115 Aufrecht 1891, 649.

116 Schwartz 2012, 227.

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7 Appendix III: Paper single-text manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus from Nepal

It is sometimes possible to find out that Nepalese single-text manuscripts transmitting works of the Śivadharma corpus had originally been conceived as part of MTMs (see par. 2, fn. 72). Single-text manuscripts that, on the basis of direct inspection, have proven (mainly due to their foliation systems) to be severed units originally belonging to MTMs are: E 34657 (NGMPP E 1811/14), *Śivadharmaśāstra*; H 6722 (NGMPP H 375/1), *Śivadharmottara*; E 32604 (NGMPP E 1667/5), *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*; H 120/25 (fragment of the *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*). Paper single-text manuscripts that, on the basis of catalogue information, can be assumed to be severed units are: NAK 1–882 (NGMPP A 62/10), *Dharmaputrikā*; NAK 5–5365 (NGMPP A 299/9), *Dharmaputrikā*. Among those I could directly inspect, it was furthermore possible to identify (sometimes just verify) as independent single-text manuscripts the following items, listed here together with the title of the work they actually transmit: E 34657 (NGMPP E 1811/14), *Śivadharmaśāstra*; NAK 5–5367 (NGMPP A 296/12), *Śivadharmottara*; E 15940 (NGMPP E 723/11), *Śivadharmottara*; E 34820 (NGMPP E 1821/13), *Śivadharmottara*; H 1591 (H 119/5), *Śivadharmottara*; H 6722 (NGMPP H 375/1), *Śivadharmottara*; E 15941 (NGMPP E 723/12), *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*; E 38630 (NGMPP E 2069/3), *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*; E 34612 (NGMPP E 1804–9), *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. As for the latter, we should however notice that fol. 4, written by what is apparently the same hand as the other folios, belongs to the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha* and reports on the verso side the final colophon of chapter 16 of this work. The manuscript is full of lacunas and some portions were left blank by the scribe, who at places would skip lines and fill the blank spaces with dashes (see examples at fols. 25v–26r, or 29v–31v). We can assume that the scribe was copying from an original he could not perfectly read.

A plethora of single-text manuscripts are allegedly attributed to the *Śivadharmaśāstra* or to the *Śivadharmottara,* but according to catalogues, these are too short to contain the whole works, their length ranging from the 11 folios of E 635/17, dated to NS 715 (1594–95 CE), to the 33 folios of G21/10. In the cases where it was possible to check, like that of I 54/4 (29 fols.), it turned out that this manuscript, which the catalogue attributes to the *Śivadharmottara,* actually contains the *Śāntyadhyāya* of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*. I suspect this could very often be the case also with the other entries.

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Abbreviations and sigla

A	(in the collated texts) Manuscript NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3)
ARE	*Annual Report on Epigraphy*
ASC	Asiatic Society of Calcutta
B	(in the collated texts) Manuscript NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3)
BHU	Benares Hindu University
	Bodl. Bodleian Library
C	(in the collated texts) Manuscript Kesar 597 (NGMPP C 57/5)
EC	*Epigraphia Carnatica*
Kesar	Kesar Library, Kathmandu
NAK	National Archives of Kathmandu
NGMCP	Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project
NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
NS	*nepālasaṃvat* = year given according to a lunisolar calendar attested in Nepal, starting in the month of Kārtika (October–November), 878 CE
ORL	Oriental Research Library (Srinagar)
UBT	Universitätsbibliothek of Tübingen
ULC	University Library of Cambridge
UP	University of Pennsylvania
VS	*vikramasaṃvat* = year given according to the lunisolar calendar attested in India and Nepal, starting in the month of Vaiśākha (April–May), 58 BCE
WI	Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London

Symbols

< >	enclose expected letters
[ ]	enclose foliation and line numbers; in the collated texts, they enclose variant readings
{ }	enclose *akṣara*s that should be left out
[[..]]	enclose unreadable *akṣara*s
|	*daṇḍa*
||	double *daṇḍa*
•	stringhole
:	linefiller
✻	*puṣpikā*
○	decoration
*	it is added to the number of the first or last extant folio of a work, when this folio does not correspond to the first or last page of that work
?	in the transcripts, it denotes uncertain readings; in the tables of contents, it denotes a folio whose page number could not be read nor deduced.

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Conventions followed for the citation of manuscripts

The manuscripts cited throughout the paper are identified by two series of sigla: the first is the acronym of the name of the institution where the manuscript is kept (like ULC for University Library of Cambridge, or NAK for the National Archives of Kathmandu), while the second — which may consist only of numbers (1–1075), or of another abbreviation followed by a number (Add. 1645) — is the accession number identifying the manuscript in the pertinent catalogue. In the case of the many manuscripts microfilmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, I added a further siglum corresponding to the microfilm number preceded by the acronym NGMPP. When the accession number was not provided in the title list, I have made use only of the microfilm number (see for instance NGMPP M 3/8). Only in the passages resulting from the collation of more manuscripts I have referred to the latter by means of shorter and more intuitive sigla, as specified in fn. 77.

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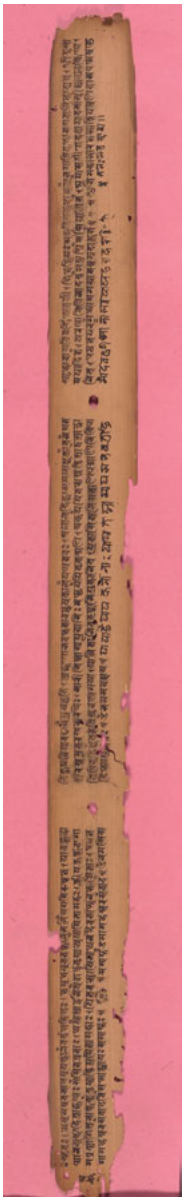

Fig. 1: NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4), fol. 191v.

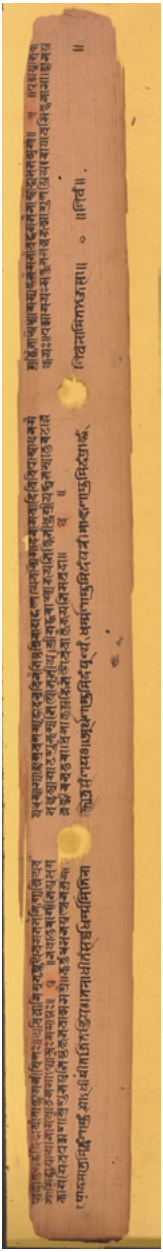

Fig. 2: NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), fol. 12r.

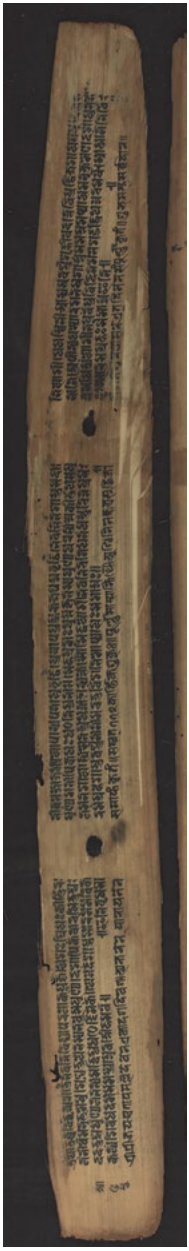

Fig. 3: NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3), fol. 254v.

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Sam van Schaik

Manuscripts and Practices: Investigating the *Tibetan Chan Compendium* (P. Tib. 116)

1 Introduction

The manuscript that I discuss in this paper is one of the most important in Tibetan religious history. Yet it has primarily been studied as a series of individual texts, rather than as a multiple-text manuscript (MTM). This has limited our understanding of why it was written, and what role it might have had in religious practice. In this paper I will argue that a combination of close codicological investigation of the manuscript on the one hand, and an awareness of the socio-historical background of its creation on the other are both necessary. It is my hope that the process of intertwining codicological and socio-historical methods here will be of interest to those working will manuscripts from other traditions as well.

This particular manuscript – Pelliot tibétain 116 – was found in a sealed cave in Dunhuang, in Chinese Central Asia. The discovery of this cave in the early 20th century opened up a vast new resource for the history of Buddhism in China, Central Asia, and Tibet. In particular, the study of the Chinese Buddhist movement known as Chan (Zen in Japan) was revolutionized by the appearance of the Dunhuang manuscripts. In the 20th century Sinologists rewrote the early history of Chan based on lost texts preserved among the Dunhuang manuscripts. Even more surprising was the discovery that the manuscripts also contained texts from an extinct Tibetan tradition of Chan. Tibetan history preserved a story of a debate held at the Tibetan imperial court between a Chinese Chan master and an Indian scholar; however, there was no firm evidence that there had ever been a living transmission of Chan lineages in Tibetan before the discovery of the Dunhuang manuscripts.[1]

Among the forty-odd Tibetan Chan manuscripts from Dunhuang, one stands out as particularly significant. Pelliot tibétain 116 is not only the largest of the Tibetan Chan manuscripts, it also contains the largest number of texts. Since the

1 The scholarly literature on Tibetan Chan is too extensive to describe here. The important Japanese studies of the 1960s and '70s are summarized in Ueyama 1983. For general discussions of Tibetan Chan see Broughton 1983 and 1999. On syncretic movements in Tibetan Chan, see van Schaik / Dalton 2004 and Meinert 2007.

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collection as a whole is not named, I will refer to Pelliot tibétain 116 here as the *Tibetan Chan Compendium* (or for brevity, just the *Compendium*). The texts in the *Compendium* have proved very useful for understanding the nature of Chan Buddhism in its Tibetan form, and the individual texts have been identified with fragments preserved in polemical works in the later Tibetan tradition. Some of the texts have also been found in other Dunhuang manuscripts. Yet the reasons why they were gathered together here have not been explained, and indeed the codicological nature of this crucial manuscript has barely been discussed at all.

2 The making of the *Tibetan Chan Compendium*

The manuscripts from Dunhuang comprise a variety of book forms, including the scroll, codex, pothi and concertina. Pelliot tibétain 116 is a concertina manuscript composed of 124 panels, each of approximately 7 x 29.5 cm; each panel contains four lines of text. The concertina form has been studied by Jean-Pierre Drège (1984) — the term he uses is *l'accordéon*. Drège identified 263 concertina manuscripts from the two major collections of Dunhuang manuscripts: the British Library and the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Although the majority of the manuscripts in these collections are in Chinese, Drège found that the vast majority of the concertinas (around 90%) are in the Tibetan language. Those few concertinas that contain dates are all from the second half of the 10th century, and in general, Drège suggested, the concertinas should be dated to the period between the fall of Tibetan rule in Dunhuang and the closing of the cave, that is, from the mid-ninth to the end of the 10th century.

Many concertinas are MTMs, of some length. Since papermaking technology only allowed for the production of a limited length of paper, these long concertina manuscripts were made by pasting together several lengths of paper. This is essentially the same method used to construct scrolls, except for the folding of the panels. Another difference from scrolls is that the concertina style requires a greater rigidity than the scroll, and thus most concertinas are made with a double layer of paper. Since the sheets of paper are pasted together, the overlap can be seen at the beginnings and ends of a sheet. In the *Compendium*, the scribe has written over some of these joins, so it is clear that the manuscript was constructed before the scribe wrote on it (Fig. 1). The folds between many of the panels have been torn and repaired at various points. Some have been stitched together with thread, and others have been repaired by gluing strips of paper across the joins (Fig. 2). In addition, there are modern repairs dating to the 20th century, where some of the more damaged panels have been joined with strips of conservation paper.

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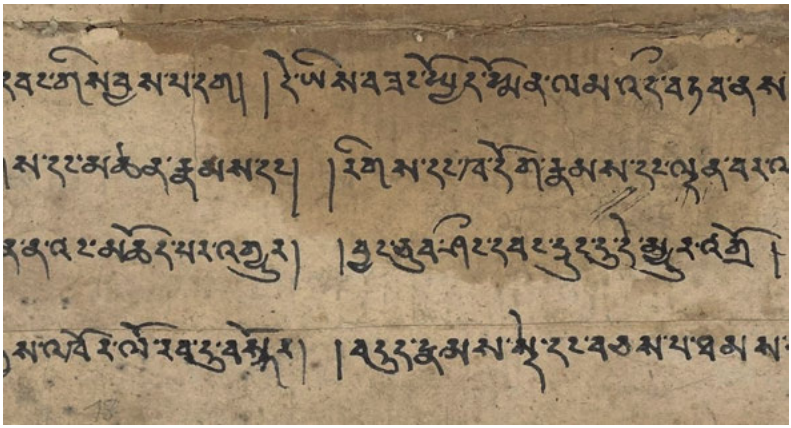

Fig. 1: Pelliot tibétain 116 recto, panel 18, showing the overlap between two sheets of paper, where the scribe has written over the join. Image © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

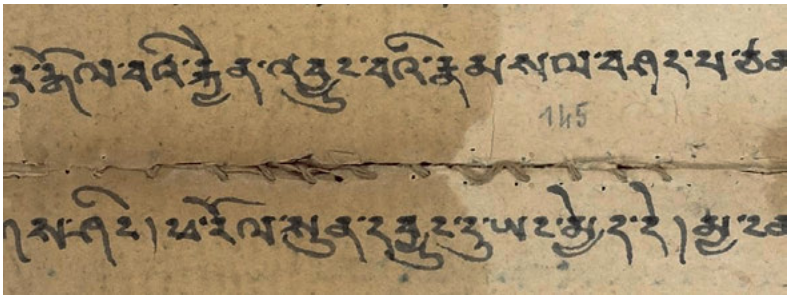

Fig. 2: Pelliot tibétain verso, panels 22–3, showing the string stitching two panels together. Image © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

It is obvious that the *Compendium* was well used and much worn by this use. The different types of repair visible on the manuscript suggest that it was repaired more than once. At some point, somebody undertook a major repair by replacing the first and last panels. These two panels are visually different from the rest of the manuscript, being composed of different paper and containing text written in a different hand from all of the other panels (Fig. 3). The person who repaired the *Compendium* knew enough of the texts it contained to fill in the missing text. In the case of the first text on the recto, this is not surprising, as it is the *Prayer of Good Conduct*, one of the most popular prayers in Tibetan Buddhism. The last text, however, is a Chan text, and the repairing scribe would have to have found an exemplar to copy, or have been familiar with the text.

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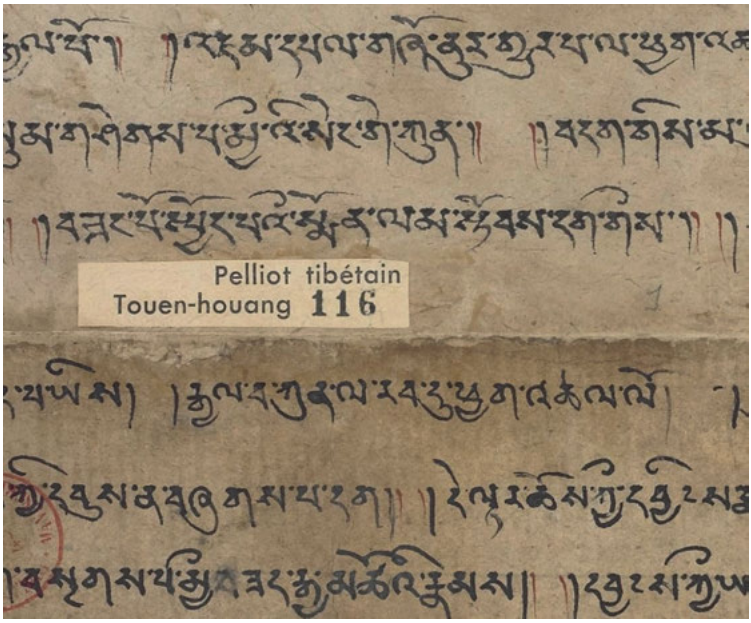

Fig. 3: Pelliot tibétain 116, recto panels 1–2, showing different handwritings and paper appearance of the first (replacement) panel. Image © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

In fact, it seems that the person who repaired the *Compendium* was familiar with Chan literature in general. His handwriting also appears on the last page of another Chan MTM, IOL Tib J 710 (which contains two long texts). This scribe may, therefore, have been collecting, repairing and annotating Chan manuscripts.[2] He also wrote a brief Chan text on a single page, Pelliot tibétain 811; this is a very useful manuscript because the scribe's handwriting begins in the headed style and then changes to the headless style. In general, the Tibetan tradition distinguishes between a headed *(dbu can)* and headless *(dbu med)* style of writing. The 'heads' are short horizontal strokes that cap many of the Tibetan letters (a characteristic inherited from the late Gupta script of India, which was the main model

2 We also see this hand in other manuscripts, in both of which only a few pages are in this hand, with the others in the hands of other scribes; for example, Pelliot tibétain 6 has two panels in this hand, and Pelliot tibétain 23 which has the title. The unusual opening curl (*mgo yig* in Tibetan) in Pelliot tibétain 116, which is composed of three small curls or globule shapes, is also seen in other manuscripts, including IOL Tib J 349, Pelliot tibétain 6, 499, 528, and 814.

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for the Tibetan alphabet.[3] Thus we have examples of this scribe's hand in both styles (Fig. 4).

Turning to the last panel of the *Compendium*, we see that it contains notes written in the headless style. Thanks to Pelliot tibétain 811, we can see that these notes are also in the hand of the repairing scribe.[4] The repairing scribe's notes on this final panel are intriguing, but difficult to read, especially as two lines have been deliberately erased at some point. One of the erased lines contains a date: the tenth month of a mouse year. But since the Tibetan calendar of the time was a twelve–year cycle, this does not help us. One passage of text on this panel can still be read (Fig. 5). Here is a provisional translation:

> In *The Little Lamp*, two panels are not present. Anyone who makes a copy of the book should include the two missing panels. This is not an omission: the two complete panels were not present.[5]

Here the editor seems to be referring to the fact that the end of the manuscript was damaged when it came into his hands. He seems to have removed the fragments of these panels, and replaced them with a single new final panel. The location of the missing panels is confirmed by an interlinear note on the other side of this final panel, which states: 'The two missing panels should be included in between here'.[6]

3 Though the Dunhuang manuscripts contain a variety of writing styles (see van Schaik 2013), it is possible to apply the general categories of 'headed' or 'headless' to most of them. In the Buddhist context, the headed style was preferred for scriptural texts, and the headless script for more informal compositions or notes.

4 This scribe's headless hand appears in a number of other manuscripts, showing his interests beyond Chan texts. A particularly important text in this hand is Pelliot tibétain 814, a description of the doctrines of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

5 Pelliot tibétain 116, v.1: sgron cung la byang bu gnyis ma mchIs/ su dpe byed pa yong na/ byang bu gnyis myed pa cha yong par gyis shig/ 'phreng chad ma yin/ byang bu rangs tha gnyis myed

6 r124.1: bar de na byang bu gnyis chad cha yong par gyis shig

Note that part of this missing text is found in another version in Pelliot tibétain 823 recto. It is not clear whether the repairing scribe was unaware of the existence of other versions, or considered the text so well known that no explanation was needed.

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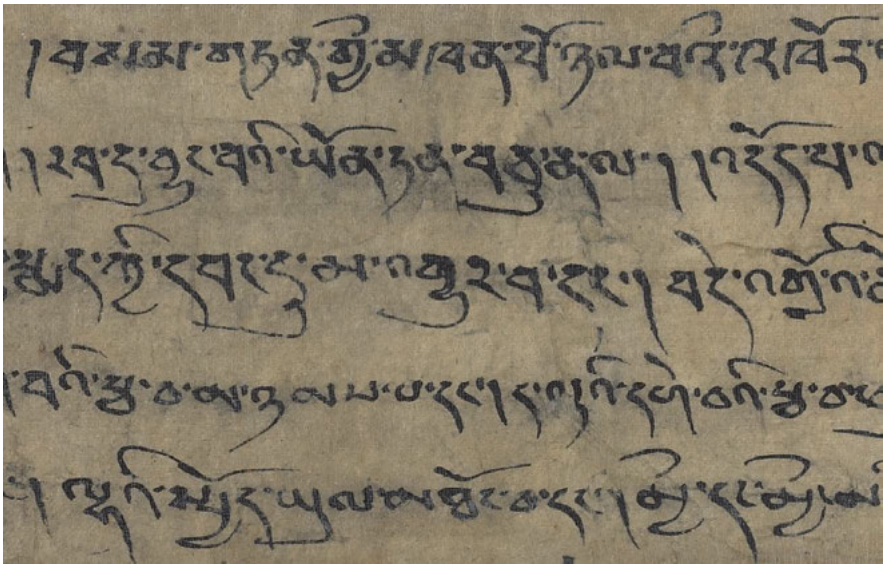

Fig. 4: Pelliot tibétain 118 recto, showing the headed and headless styles of the scribe who wrote on the replacement panels of Pelliot tibétain 116. Image © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

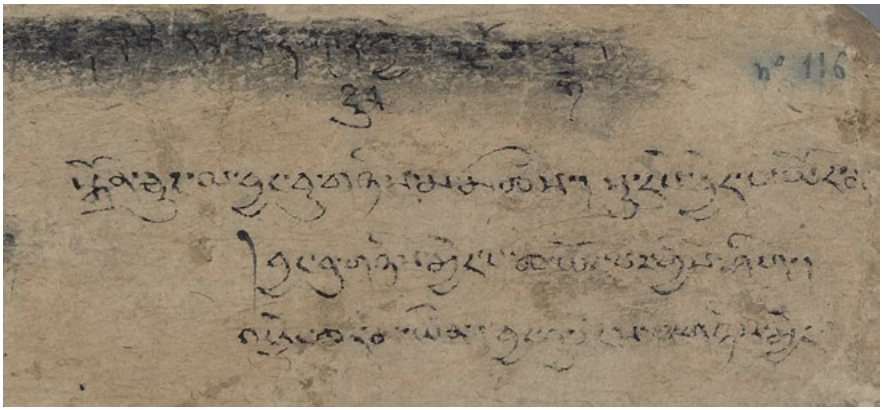

Fig. 5: Pelliot tibétain 116 verso, panel 1, showing a note by the scribe who wrote on the replacement panels. Image © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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The handwriting of this repairing scribe is characteristic of the latter half of the 10th century, which helps us to date the repairs to that time.[7] The rest of the manuscript must of course have been old and damaged by the time it was repaired. The handwriting here fits within the mid-ninth century type that is found in hundreds of copies of Buddhist sutras sponsored by the Tibetan imperium (for this reason, I have classified this style elsewhere as 'sutra style') and mostly before in the mid-ninth century. The same handwriting is also seen on many concertina manuscripts, which, given Drége's dating of these manuscripts to after the mid-9th century, shows that the style persisted after the fall of the Tibetan empire.[8]

A further clue to the date of the *Compendium* is one of the texts within it, the *The Single Method of Non–Objectification,* which cites a scripture that was translated into Tibetan in the 830s or 840s. Thus the *Compendium* could date from this time through to the early 10th century, when the Dunhuang cave was closed. Given the heavy wear and many repairs to the manuscript, it must have been in circulation for several decades at least before being placed in the cave, and thus should date from between the mid-ninth and mid-tenth century. Taking into account that most of the dated concertina manuscripts are from the 10th century, our more specific estimate would place the date of the creation of the *Compendium* in period c. 900–950.

3 The structure of the *Tibetan Chan Compendium*

Previous scholars have divided up the textual content of the *Tibetan Chan Compendium* in different ways, resulting in different calculations of the number of texts contained in the manuscript. This reflects a difficulty with MTMs in general, and the fact that in manuscript cultures textual units can be combined and separated along different lines according to the needs of a particular scribe.[9] My own division of the textual content of the *Compendium* is given in Tab. 1.

7 On the use of palaeography to date the Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang, see van Schaik 2013. And on the use of forensic handwriting analysis to identify individual scribal hands, see Dalton / Davis / van Schaik 2004.

8 Pelliot tibétain 10 is written in a very similar hand to the main body of Pelliot tibétain 116, and that it comprises another copy of the *Diamond Sutra*.

9 For a different calculation of the text divisions in Pelliot tibétain 116, see Ueyama 1985. For a systematic study of different kinds of scribal alteration of texts (based on medieval European manuscripts) see Dagenais 1994.

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Text	Title	Panels
I	*The Prayer for Benevolent Conduct* (*Bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po, Skt. Bhadracaryā–praṇidhanarāja*)	r.1–r.21
II	*The Diamond Sutra* (*Rdo rje gcod pa theg pa chen po'i mdo Vajracchedikā-mahāyāna-sūtra*)	r.21–r.108
III	A treatise on the greater and lesser vehicles (no title)	r.108–r.117
IV	*A Concise Point-by-Point Exposition of the View* (*Lta ba rdor bsdus pa las 'byung ba'I don*)	r.117–r.118
V	*A Treatise on the Single Method of Non–Objectification* (*Dmyigs su myed pa tshul gcig pa'I gzhung*) (a) Questions and answers with quotations from scripture, r.119–v.23 (b) Questions and answers on non-conceptuality, v.23–v.41 (c) Quotations from masters of meditation, v.41–47	r.117–v.47
VI	*A Brief Teaching on the Six and Ten Perfections in the Context of Non-Conceptual Meditation, by Master Moheyan* (*Mkhan po ma ha yan gyIs bsam brtan myI rtog pa'I nang du pha rol du phyind pa drug dang bcu 'dus pa bshad pa'I mdo*)	v.48–v.50
VII	Collected sayings of masters of meditation (18 sections) (a) Bhu cu (Wuzhu 無住), (b) Kim hun (Kim Heshang 金和尚), (c) Dzang, (d) De'u lim, (e) Lu, (f) Pab shwan, (g) Pir, (h) Dzva'i, (i) Tshwan, (j) Wang, (k) Dzvang za, (l) Keng shi, (m) Shin ho (Shenhui 神會), (n) 'ByI lig, (o) Ma ha yan (Moheyan 摩訶衍), (p) De'u, (q) Bu cu (Wuzhu 蕪住)	v.50–v.67
VIII	*The Experience of the Fundamental Principle that is Instantaneously Perfect* (*Cig car yang dag pa'i phyi mo'i tshor ba*); translation of *Dunwu zhenzong yaojue* 頓悟真宗要決 by Zhida[10]	v.68–v.119
IX	A short treatise on five errors in meditation (no title)	v.119–v.122
X	A song entitled *A Brief Teaching on the Dharmadhātu* (*Chos kyi dbyings nyid bstan pa'i mdo*)	v.123

Tab. 1: The Contents of the Tibetan Chan Compendium.

One of the problems of drawing up a table like this is that the beginnings and endings of texts are not always clearly signalled in the manuscript. Thus where we do not have other copies of the same texts available for comparison, identifying the point at which one text ends and another begins may be quite subjective.

10 For the Chinese, see Or.8210/S.5533 and Pelliot chinois 3922. The text is briefly discussed in Faure 1997, 127–128.

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Furthermore, some texts are themselves compendia; for example, it is not immediately obvious that Text VI should even be considered a text; it is a series of citations of Chan masters, in which each individual citation may have existed in previous versions, but this could well be the first time they had been combined in this particular order. Yet, as a collection of coherent material, placed after another such collection, and with no clear internal signalling of text breaks, it is also justifiable to identify this as a single textual unit.

What, after all, is a textual unit? Perhaps the best way to make a convincing case for identifying a chunk of text as unit is to combine an analysis of the layout of the text on the page with textual analysis, and with examples of the same text (or at least a title) found elsewhere. A case in point is Text V, *The Single Method of Non–Objectification*. This is a single text containing 38 questions and answers, but previous scholars have divided it into several texts based on thematic readings.[11] Versions of parts (a) and (b) of the *Single Method* exist separately elsewhere among the Dunhuang manuscripts. Some other manuscripts contain a series of questions and answers matching those in the *Compendium* version, while others contain only a few of the same questions and answers, in a different order and/or interspersed with questions and answers not found in the *Single Method*.

11 Daishun Ueyama (1983, 331–32) discerned three texts corresponding to our parts (a), (b) and (c) of the *Single Method*. This was based on a thematic reading of the text; however, as we know that single texts may well contain several thematic sections, a thematic reading is not a sufficient method in itself for distinguishing textual units. Ryutoku Kimura (1980) correctly considered the whole to be a single textual unit under the title found in the explicit, on v47.2. For evidence against Ueyama's consideration of parts (a) and (b) as separate texts, we have another manuscript, Pelliot tibétain 118, which contains part of the *Single Method* with no visual clue that the scribe considered there to be any distinction between these two parts of the text. Indeed the visual clue in Pelliot tibétain 116 itself is debatable, merely a gap between two sets of double *shad* (Tibetan punctuation marks usually appearing as long vertical lines) on the same line, at v23.2, and thus not even a line break, which is the minimum demarcation between texts elsewhere on this manuscript. As for the distinction between parts (b) and (c), there is simply no clue on the page at all. Note that Ueyama's (1983, 334) statement that there is text missing between v40 and v41 is mistaken; there is a clear link between the citation of texts in parts (a) and (b) and the précis of the teaching of Chan masters in part (c) in the line which bridges the transition (v40.3–4): 'Thus the simultaneous method does not contradict the words of many sutras; it is also in harmony with the instructions of learned masters.' Following this there is a reference to the master Nāgārjūna as prophesied in the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* which crosses directly from v40.4 to v41.1.

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Manuscript	Corresponding text in Pelliot tibétain 116	Notes
Pelliot tibétain 823, v3.1ff / IOL Tib J 703 verso	v2.3 – v13.4	Only the first question and answer section is different.
IOL Tib J 1372	v3.3 – v9.3	
IOL Tib J 706 recto	v4.2–4.4	Different text apart from a single question and answer section.
IOL Tib J 707 recto	v5.3 – v10.1	verso: *Diamond Sutra*
Pelliot tibétain 21 verso	v11.3 – v15.3	
Pelliot tibétain 118	v17.1 – v29.2	verso: *Diamond Sutra*
Pelliot tibétain 821	v17.2 – v40.3 *passim*	Different text with some matching question and answer sections.
Pelliot tibétain 817	v7.2–v8.4, v17.2–v18.1, v9.3–v10.2	Three questions and answers in a different order.
Pelliot tibétain 822 recto	v28.4 – v29.4	verso: another Chan text

Tab. 2: Concordance between the Single Method in Pelliot tibétain 116 and other manuscripts.

Further reason to believe that the *Single Method* existed elsewhere as a textual unit is found in an early eighth-century Tibetan library catalogue known as the *Phang thang ma* (see Rta rdo 2003, 58). The listing of a text with the same title in this catalogue suggests that the *Single Method* was known in Central Tibet.[12] Furthermore, sources from the Tibetan literary tradition that have survived in the transmitted literature also contain some of the same citations found in the *Single Method*. The *Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation*, written in the early 10th century, contains three scriptural citations and five quotations from Chan masters that are also found in the *Compendium*.[13] A slightly earlier canonical text, *The Meaning of*

12 The catalogue entry is: (833) *Dmigs su med pa'i tshul gcig pa'i gzhung* (1/2 bam po). Other Chan collections of sutra quotations are found in the same part of the catalogue: (831) *Mdo sde brgyad bcu khungs* (1 bam po), which also exists in Pelliot tibétain 818; (836) *Theg pa chen po gcig car 'jug pa* (1 bam po), which is probably the same text as P.5306. Other titles in the same part of the catalogue also appear to be Chan texts. The section is attributed to Khri srong lde btsan, but according to Bu ston this section was headed 'name of author unknown' (see Faber 1985, 49–51).

13 This is the *Bsam gtan mig sgron* of Nub Sangyé Yeshé (Gnubs Sangs rgyas ye shes).

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Nonconceptual meditation of the Simultaneous Approach, shares nineteen scriptural citations and two quotations from Chan masters.[14] Along with the library catalogue, these occurrences suggest that the *Single Method* and its composite textual units were known in Tibet (and not just Dunhuang) from the late 9th century, and this popularity is reflected by its inclusion as the central text of the *Compendium*.[15]

4 Ritual practice and the *Tibetan Chan Compendium*

The traditional Tibetan narrative of a decisive debate between a Chan monk and a scholarly Indian opponent has influenced the way scholars have approached the Tibetan Chan manuscripts, and the *Compendium* in particular. In the story, the Tibetan emperor Tri Song Detsen (r. 756–c.800) convened the debate due to antagonism between Chinese and Indian Buddhists at court. The Chinese side was represented by a Chan teacher known as Moheyan 摩訶衍 (a Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit *mahāyāna*). The story of the debate is derived from an old historical narrative known as *The Testament of Ba*, which represents the debate as a battle between exponents of the simultaneous and gradual approaches to enlightenment.[16] Moheyan is portrayed as representing the extreme position of rejecting all Buddhist practice apart from a recognition of the mind's true nature, which is said to lead to 'simultaneous entry' (*cig car 'jug pa*).[17] According to the Tibetan narrative, Moheyan was defeated by a representative of Indian scholastic Buddhism, after which the Chinese Buddhist teachers were forced to leave Tibet.

14 This text appears in the Tibetan canon under the title *Cig car 'jug pa rnam par mi rtog pa'i bsgom don* (P. 5306).

15 On these correspondences, see Ueyama 1985, 336 and Faber 1985, 49–51.

16 For a translation of *Testament of Ba (Sba bzhed / Dba' bzhed)* see Pasang and Diemberger 2000, 76-88. There is a great deal of secondary literature on the debate. On the historicity of the debate, see Ruegg 1992. On the debate narrative in later Tibetan culture, see van Schaik 2003 and Meinert 2006.

17 The Tibetan terms for simultaneous and gradual entry are *cig car 'jug pa* and *rim gyis 'jug pa*. Tibetans also use the loanwords *ton men* and *tsen men* (the orthography of these varies widely), representing Chinese *dunmen* 頓門 and *jianmen* 漸門.

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However, this narrative is contradicted by a similar account in a Chinese Dunhuang manuscript which ends with the emperor endorsing Chan.[18]

A number of works on the *Compendium* and other Tibetan Chan manuscripts have framed the whole enquiry in terms of this debate story.[19] This has led to the *Compendium* being approached from a purely doctrinal point of view, as if its only reason for being was its relationship with the debate between the opposed positions of the simultaneous and gradual approaches to enlightenment. It is certainly true that some of the texts in the *Compendium* do show an awareness of this doctrinal tension – but this is not specific to Tibetan Chan; it is also seen in the Chinese Chan manuscripts. In fact, the tension between immediate access to one's true nature and the need for a graduated path of practice crops up again and again in various Buddhist traditions.

So, it may be better to put the debate narrative to one side and look afresh at the uses that the *Compendium* might have been put to. It may be more useful to substitute social and ritual contexts for doctrinal ones.[20] My reading of the *Compendium* suggests that the most relevant social and ritual context here is the ceremony of taking the precepts of a bodhisattva. This is a series of vows found only in Mahāyāna Buddhism, and directed to the aspiration of the bodhisattva: to strive for the enlightenment of all sentient beings. The bodhisattva precepts ceremony originated in India, but became especially popular in China, where mass precepts ceremonies were held on specially constructed platforms.

The popularity of these platform ceremonies coincided with the emergence of self-conscious Chan lineages during the 8th century, so that, as Wendi Adamek has put it, 'Chan can be said to have been born on the bodhisattva precepts platform.'[21] Taking the precepts of the bodhisattva also entailed entering a Chan lineage. The

18 The Chinese version of the debate story is in Pelliot chinois 4646, titled *Dunwu dasheng zhengli jue* 頓悟大乘政理決. It was extensive discussed, and translated into French, in Demiéville 1952. The manuscript consists of a series of questions and answers on Chan doctrines, with a preface by the monk Wangxi 王锡 stating that the background to these questions and answers was the patronage of Chan masters by the Tibetan emperor Tri Song Detsen and one of his queens. According to Wangxi there were a series of discussions between the Indian teachers at the Tibetan court and the Chan teacher Moheyan. In contrast to the Tibetan debate narrative, Wangxi concludes his preface with an edict from the Tibetan emperor supporting Chan.

19 See for example Ueyama 1983 and Faber 1985.

20 The ritual content of Chan / Zen Buddhism has been occluded by anti-ritual rhetoric within the tradition, and in Western appropriations of Zen. Some recent scholarship has attempted to redress the balance. See for example the papers in Faure 2003.

21 Adamek 2011, 33. See also Adamek 2007 for a detailed discussion of the historical development of the precepts ceremony in China, with regard to Chan lineages.

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importance of the platform ceremony in Chan lineages is also evident among the Dunhuang manuscripts. For example, one of the most popular early Chan texts, the *Platform Sutra* (which is found in several versions among the Dunhuang manuscripts) is constructed around an ordination sermon by the sixth patriarch Huineng 惠能. Another platform sermon by Huineng's disciple Shenhui 神會 is also found in the Dunhuang manuscripts.[22]

How then does the arrangement of the texts in the *Compendium* suggest the context of a precepts ceremony? The *Compendium* begins with two popular Mahāyāna Buddhist texts, starting with the *Prayer of Good Conduct* (Skt. *Bhadracaryā–praṇidhana)* which sets out the aspirations to bring about the welfare and enlightenment of all beings.[23] This is the aspiration of the bodhisattva, which is formalized in Buddhist practice by the ceremony of taking the bodhisattva precepts. The presence of the *Prayer of Good Conduct* at the beginning of the *Compendium* is the first clue that the manuscript may have been made for use in such ceremonies.

The *Prayer of Good Conduct* is followed by the *Diamond Sutra* (Skt. *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra)*, one of the most popular expositions of the doctrine of emptiness, which states that all things are interdependent, and thus nothing can have an intrinsic essence.[24] In this scriptural text the Buddha repeatedly makes contradictory statements, celebrating the virtuous path of a bodhisattva and the qualities of a Buddha at the same time as denying that they exist. This approach is a

22 For a translation of the *Platform Sutra*, see Yampolsky 1967. On the Shenhui sermon in Pelliot chinois 2045, see Liebenthal 1952.

23 The longer title of this prayer is *Āryabhadracaryāpraṇidhānarāja*. It was translated into Tibetan in the 8thh century, and has ever since been hugely popular in Tibet. The first complete Chinese translations of the prayer were made by Amoghavajra (Bukong jingang 不空金剛) and Prajñā (Bore 般若) in the 8th century. See Dessein 2003 for a survey of the literary history of the prayer in China.

24 The presence of the *Diamond Sutra* in the *Compendium* is by no means unique; as we saw in Tab. 2 above, the sutra is also found on the reverse side of two concertina manuscripts containing the Chan compilation entitled *The Single Method of Non–Objectification:* IOL Tib J 707 and Pelliot tibétain 118. The eminence of the *Diamond Sutra* in these manuscripts challenges an assumption that has been repeated in a number of studies of the Tibetan Chan texts, namely that main influence seen there is from the so-called Northern School. This position, in the English language sources, goes back to Jeffrey Broughton's (1983) introduction to Tibetan Chan. Broughton identified three schools as central to the history of Chan in Tibet: 'the Reverend Kim or Ching-shung lineage, the Wu-chu or Pao-t'ang lineage, and the post-Shen-hsiu Northern lineage, the last of which we might call the late Northern.' In the *Compendium* the influence of the Southern lineage is further shown by a section on the sayings of Shenhui, who is considered its founder. Equally, the presence in the *Compendium* of figures associated with other lineages shows that Shenhui's polemics had not resulted in the rejection of material associated with the Northern School.

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challenge to dualistic concepts of self and other, existence and non-existence, and the like. This use of deliberate paradox as a teaching method had a strong influence on the development of the Chan tradition.[25]

The *Diamond Sutra* occupies a central place in the *Platform Sutra*, which begins with the story of how Huineng became the sixth patriarch of Chan. Huineng is said to have left home and gone in search of the fifth patriarch of Chan after hearing the *Diamond Sutra* being recited in the marketplace. Later in the narrative, the fifth patriarch transmits his authority and wisdom to Huineng by explaining the *Diamond Sutra* to him. After this biographical sketch, the *Platform Sutra* turns into a sermon given by Huineng in a ceremony of bestowing precepts. This ceremony begins with taking refuge in the Buddha, his teachings and the community of monks and lay practitioners. Then follow the vow of the bodhisattva (equivalent to the *Prayer of Good Conduct* in the *Compendium*), and an exposition of the doctrine of the Perfection of Wisdom, with particular reference, again, to the *Diamond Sutra*.[26]

Thus the first and second texts in the *Compendium* mirror the concerns of ordination sermons like the *Platform Sutra*: bestowing the precepts of the bodhisattva and orienting those receiving the precepts to a particular scriptural tradition, that of the Perfection of Wisdom in general and the *Diamond Sutra* in particular. After these two texts, the *Compendium* turns to less well-known material that is specific to Chan lineages. Text III is an overview of the differences between the Mahāyāna and the lesser vehicles, a popular theme among the Tibetan Chan texts.[27] This text also has an analogous section in Shenhui's sermon.[28] Text IV explains that the correct 'view' (Tib. *lta ba*, Skt. *darśana*) is the sameness of all entities.

After this we have three substantial Chan texts, arguably the centrepiece of the *Compendium*. Text V is the *Single Method*, a substantial compilation in question-and-answer form, with quotations from sutras and Chan masters. Text VI gathers together the sayings of 19 masters of meditation, some overlapping with the previous text. Text VII is a translation of a Chinese Chan text that is also found in the Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang. Finally, short texts round off the collection: Text VIII addresses certain faults in meditation practice and their remedies, and Text IX is a poem or song on the ultimate state of reality.

25 See the discussion in Nagatomo 2000.

26 The centrality of the *Diamond Sutra* to the *Platform Sutra* has led Christoph Anderl (2013) to suggest that the term 'platform sutra' first referred to the *Diamond Sutra* itself, and only later became the name of Huineng's text by extension from this use.

27 See for example IOL Tib J 709/10.

28 See Liebenthal 1952, 141–42.

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Much in this material continues to mirror the platform sermons of Shenhui, and the *Platform Sutra* itself. In both, the explanation of the perfection of wisdom is followed by an introduction to the view of the Chan, along with a discussion about meditation and how to avoid going astray. Huineng's text cites sutras, while Shenhui's contains an injunction to read the sutras. Both texts end with a song (in Shenhui's sermon, several songs), and so does the *Compendium*. Therefore I think it is reasonable to say that the logic behind the organization of the texts in the *Compendium* is the logic of the platform ceremonies which functioned as a monastic or lay ordination into a Chan lineage.[29]

Here we should note Alessandro Bausi's concept of MTMs as 'corpus organizers' – Bausi writes that:

> Far from being conceived as an autonomous and well-defined witness of texts (as it would appear from a purely philological perspective), each of these 'corpus-organizers' acquires its full significance only in mutual relationship to the others. Each manuscript organizes an implicit, but nevertheless material and concrete, evolving knowledge.[30]

I would agree that the *Compendium* represents the state of an evolving knowledge, and add that the manuscript also exists in the foreground of a social picture in which ritual practice is the means by which this knowledge is transmitted from one generation to the next. The specific form of ritual here is the platform ceremony of bestowing the bodhisattva precepts, and the arrangement of texts reflects the method by which the transmission was effected.

The issue of a manuscript's social background brings us to our final question about the *Compendium*: who paid for it? Unfortunately the repairs carried out on the manuscript by diligent scribes resulted in the complete replacement of the original first and last panel, so we do not have the original colophon. We can, however, get some idea of what kind of colophon might have been appended to the texts by looking at a complete MTM. Pelliot tibétain 98 is a concertina in 81 panels containing a series of *dhāraṇī* – texts containing magical formulae, recited for various wordly purposes. The last panel contains a colophon giving the date of copying, the name of the sponsor, and the dedication of the merit of writing the texts.

29 It should be noted that there are other, shorter, MTMs among the Tibetan Chan manuscripts, and some of these (e.g. IOL Tib J 710) have quite a different structure (and therefore, presumably, had a different use) to the *Compendium*. There are also many multiple-text Chan manuscripts in Chinese (Sørensen 1989, 134).

30 Bausi 2010, 35.

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> At the beginning of the middle month of autumn in the year of the dragon: by the merit of writing these scriptures, may the noble life-force of the patron Ba Tsesyong be increased. May all of his excellent aspirations be fulfilled. May his good works and high position be greatly praised in this world. May his power increase, and may he never ever be struck by any illness or obstacles. May he purify the two kinds of obscuration and complete the accumulations of merit and wisdom.[31]

From elsewhere in the manuscript, we know that Ba Tsesyong was a minister. Colophons like this remind us that large and well-made manuscripts like the *Compendium* needed the funds of a person, or organization of some standing. And although we do not know who sponsored the creation of the *Compendium*, we can now see that it was copied for a purpose, to be used in Chan precepts ceremonies. The size and relative expensiveness of the *Compendium* itself shows the importance of the ordination ceremony to the community in which the manuscript was created and used.

5 Conclusions

Are there any general conclusions regarding MTMs that may be drawn from this investigation into the *Tibetan Chan Compendium*? Most important, perhaps, is the reminder that the reasons behind the creation of the manuscript, the specific texts written in it, and the sequence in which they are put, may be explicated by attention to the manuscript's socio-historical background. This requires us to attend to the physical nature of the manuscript, including evidence of usage (like repairs), and simultaneously to the choice of texts and their arrangement. Then, we need to look further afield for sources that may provide clues to the sequencing of the texts in the manuscript.

In the case of the *Compendium*, we found these in Chan ordination sermons like the *Platform Sutra*. Historical studies of the popularity in China of ordination ceremonies held on ritual platforms then provided the key to understanding the role of the *Compendium*. Once we understood how the manuscript could have functioned as a part of such practices, the arrangement of the texts within it and the motivation for the creation of the manuscript itself became explicable.

31 Pelliot tibétain 98: 'brug gi lo ston sla 'bring po'i ngo la// yon bdag 'ba' tse syong tshe ring dpal 'phel/ bsam ba legs dgur grub/ myi 'phan srid mtho/ 'jig rten 'dir che bar grags shinbg btsan la dar pa dang/ nad bgegs cis kyang myi tshogs shig ni phyung/ bsod nams dang/ ye shes kyi tshogs rdzogs so//

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There is a further extension of this interplay between our attention to the specific features of the manuscript on the one hand, and to the socio-historical background of its creation on the other: the manuscript itself may now serve to illuminate the nature of the social practices for which it was created. Thus the *Compendium*, now that we have identified it as relating to Chan ordination ceremonies, becomes a unique source for understanding the way these rituals were conducted at the place and time of its creation.

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Donald Harper

The Textual Form of Knowledge: Occult Miscellanies in Ancient and Medieval Chinese Manuscripts, 4th Century BCE to 10th Century CE

In the +8th came the *Khai-Yuan Chan Ching* already mentioned,
and posterity owes a debt of gratitude to its author for preserving
so many passages from the ancient writings on astronomy,
however astrological his interests may have been.

Joseph Needham 1959, 201–2

1 Introduction

In 1900 an itinerant Daoist holy man, Wang Yuanlu 王圓祿, unblocked the entrance to a cave at the Buddhist caves (Mogaoku 莫高窟) near Dunhuang 敦煌, Gansu, revealing a cache of medieval paper manuscripts (scrolls and booklets) that had not been seen since the cave was sealed in the early 11th century. The cave, numbered Cave 17 in modern Dunhuang studies, appears to have been a manuscript depository used by the local Buddhist establishment before being sealed when the populace of Dunhuang feared an attack by Islamic Karakhanid forces who in 1006 occupied Khotan (west of Dunhuang on the southern edge of the Taklamakan Desert). The manuscripts date from the 5th to 10th centuries CE. As knowledge of the discovery spread, the Cave 17 manuscripts were dispersed. Major acquisitions by Aurel Stein and Paul Pelliot are now deposited in the British

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The author wishes to express his gratitude to the editors for including this article among the studies of multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs). References in the article to 'miscellany' or 'manuscript miscellany' are to be understood to accord with the idea of MTM as defined in this volume.

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Library and the Bibliothèque nationale de France, respectively.[1] Chinese archaeological excavations since the 1950s are responsible for most ancient manuscripts, written on bamboo- or wood-slips and silk, with tombs of the 4th century BCE to the 1st century CE providing an especially rich assortment of manuscripts (the number of ancient manuscripts continues to rise with fresh excavations). Excluding a certain number of documents that relate directly to burial practices, the great majority of manuscripts discovered in tombs represent books in circulation among the living which were selected for burial as grave goods.[2]

The manuscript discoveries, ancient and medieval, have great significance for the history of Chinese science. Manuscripts that treat of medicine, astrology, and calendars have received due attention from specialists in these fields.[3] The present article focuses on a commonly occurring type of manuscript for which 'miscellany' is a convenient label and whose content I characterize as 'occult' in the pre-modern European sense of 'knowledge or use of agencies of a secret and mysterious nature (as magic, alchemy, astrology, theosophy, and the like).'[4] In ancient and medieval China occult miscellanies would have been regarded as examples of *shushu* 數術 'calculations and arts' literature. The term first appeared in the 1st century BCE when it was used in bibliographic classification to designate books on astrology and calendars, on varieties of divination, and on a diverse array of other 'occult arts,' including physiognomy, demonology, and magic (medical literature was classified separately in the division *fangji* 方技 'recipes and techniques').[5] The relation of *shushu* to forms of knowledge that we might classify as 'science' or 'natural philosophy' is a question I defer to the conclusion of this article, following presentation of evidence from manuscripts and comparison of manuscript evidence to several books that survived the centuries in

1 See Rong 1999–2000 for a history of the manuscript discovery in Cave 17; and Whitfield 2002, 9–20, which also addresses the issue of forgeries of Dunhuang manuscripts. The numbers assigned to Dunhuang manuscripts in the British Library are preceded by S (for Stein); those in the Bibliothèque nationale de France are preceded by P (for Pelliot).

2 Giele 1998–1999 provides an overview of ancient Chinese manuscript discoveries as of 1999, arranged by archaeological site; see also Giele (electronic database).

3 Selected examples of publications in Western languages include Harper 1998, Lo and Cullen 2005, Kalinowski 2003, Bonnet-Bidaud and Praderie 2004.

4 Oxford English Dictionary. 'Miscellany' as a term used in manuscript studies is discussed below, 326–27, nn. 64–65.

5 See below, 309, for details on the 1st century BCE bibliographic classification, which served as the basis for the bibliographic treatise in the *Han shu* 漢書.

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printed editions.[6] For now, let me just note the family resemblance between 'occult' and *shushu* as labels for categories of knowledge in Europe and China in the form of manuscript miscellanies with occult content in vernacular languages in medieval Europe that bear comparison to Chinese *shushu* miscellanies. In particular, the field of *Fachliteratur* or *Sachliteratur* research has refined our understanding of the significance of medieval German occult miscellanies in relation to popular culture (especially among the expanding readership for manuscripts and printed books) and to medieval science.[7]

The 20th century discovery of Chinese manuscript miscellanies with occult content dating from the 4th century BCE to the 10th century CE allows us to observe the formation of occult ideas and practices and their transmission in manuscripts that to judge from the manuscripts themselves were popular among a readership that we may describe as elite by virtue of being literate.[8] This article explores two main aspects of the manuscript miscellanies. First is their significance as *realia* – objects produced by copyists and once held by ancient and medieval readers. The manuscripts are not simply sources of information about occult ideas and practices for modern historical analysis. Both in their form and presentation of knowledge the manuscripts influenced ancient and medieval perceptions of that knowledge. Second, the manuscripts allow us to look anew at textual sources deemed most relevant to the history of ancient and medieval Chinese science and to consider fundamental issues regarding the relationship between the knowledge represented by the manuscript miscellanies and the knowledge associated with certain historical figures in modern studies of Chinese science. In the organization of the article, presentation of the manuscript miscellanies is first, followed by discussion of three medieval works that have figured prominently in the history of Chinese science: *Wuxing dayi* 五行大義 (Summation of the five agents), compiled by Xiao Ji 蕭吉 (d. 614); *Yisi zhan* 乙巳占 (Yisi-year divination), compiled by Li Chunfeng 李淳風 (602–670); and *Kaiyuan zhanjing* 開元占經 (Divination classic of [the reign] Opened Epoch), compiled by Qutan Xida 瞿曇悉達 (Gautama Siddhartha) and others (date of compilation ca. 714–724).

6 See Kalinowski 2003, 110–11, and Lloyd 2004, 127–28, for discussion of the term *shushu*.

7 Crossgrove 1994, Brévart 1988, and Eamon 1994.

8 Liu Lexian 2003, 14–52, surveys ancient manuscripts. For Dunhuang manuscripts see Kalinowski 2003. Yu Xin 2003 and Yu Xin 2006 examine Dunhuang occult manuscripts with comparisons to ancient manuscripts.

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2 Manuscript miscellanies

Before turning to the manuscript miscellanies with occult content let me first review some characteristics of ancient and medieval textual sources most often used in modern studies of Chinese science. Almost without exception, the books have been transmitted in woodblock-printed editions that were published in the post-medieval period – roughly, after the 10th century CE. In the history of the book in China the 10th century was a time of transition from the book as manuscript to the printed book; the same century brought the end of the Tang dynasty (618–907) and the establishment of the Song dynasty (960–1279). During the Song printing changed the form of the book as well as the patterns for the transmission of texts and written knowledge in books.[9] The survival of transmitted sources in Song printed editions (rare) and in later printings is the result of chance and conscious design; and government sponsored editorial projects frequently determined the selection of books to be printed.[10]

For modern research on the textual sources of ancient and medieval Chinese science there are two practical consequences. First, we use transmitted sources knowing that extant editions probably do not reproduce a book exactly as it circulated in ancient and medieval times in manuscripts that are unknown to us. Editorial alterations due to the value attached to it in a later age may obscure our knowledge of the reception and influence of a book in its earlier cultural and intellectual context. The effects of editing and printing are neatly illustrated by the 11th century Song, government-sponsored woodblock edition of Sun Simo's 孫思邈 7th century compendium of medical recipes, *Beiji qianjin yaofang* 備急千金要方 (Thousand-in-gold essential recipes in readiness for emergencies). By chance, two incomplete manuscripts of the book have survived that are thought to date to the late Tang or early Song. Although the manuscripts cannot be assigned absolute dates, several types of evidence show that they pre-date editorial changes introduced in the woodblock edition.[11] I note one conspicuous example of editorial change that we may attribute to Song discomfort with Indo-Buddhistic elements that were an integral part of Tang medical knowledge. Both manuscripts preserve the passage describing the method for pounding drugs with mortar and

9 Drège 1991, 265–68; Cherniak 1994.

10 See Guy 1987 for a detailed history of the compilation of the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, commissioned by the Qing court in the 18th century.

11 Wilms 2002, 53–58, summarizes the transmission and editions of *Beiji qianjin yaofang*.

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pestle. In the account Buddhist ritual accompanies the drug-pounding procedure: incense is burned before beginning, and after the ingredients are reduced to powder the drug is placed on an altar before an image of the Buddha, followed by an invocation to Buddhist deities and deified patrons of medicine to ensure the efficacy of the drug. The woodblock edition retains the initial instruction to burn incense, but eliminates all subsequent Buddhistic elements.[12]

Second, transmitted sources are a mere fraction of the totality of ancient and medieval books that would be relevant to the history of science had the manuscripts survived. Consider, for example, the bibliographic treatise in Ban Gu's 班固 (32–92) *Han shu* 漢書 (Book of Han), which is based on the catalogue of the Han royal library produced by Liu Xiang 劉向 (79–8 BCE) and Liu Xin 劉歆 (46 BCE–23 CE). Of 226 titles of books listed in the *shushu* 'calculations and arts' and *fangji* 'recipes and techniques' divisions of the bibliographic treatise, only two survive in editions that have undergone drastic alteration from Han originals: *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Classic of mountains and seas) and *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經 (Inner classic of the Yellow Thearch).[13] Medieval books listed in contemporaneous bibliographic records are more numerous, but the number that survived in later printed editions is only slightly better. The lost books have not all disappeared without a trace. Quotations of ancient and medieval sources in medieval compilations such as *Wuxing dayi*, *Yisi zhan*, and *Kaiyuan zhanjing* as well as in encyclopedias and commentaries are invaluable testimony to their content. However, even though a reconstructed text may be fashioned from quotations and other forms of textual testimony, a book cannot again be made whole from text fragments. The reconstructed edition reflects the biases of whoever selected the passages for quotation from the original manuscript book and does not restore the book as it was known to ancient or medieval readers.

The bamboo- or wood-slips and silk of ancient manuscripts are often in poor condition at the time of excavation; and due to disintegration of the binding cords, it may be difficult to determine the original sequence of slips in a manuscript. Some Dunhuang manuscripts were damaged and awaiting repair when stored in Cave 17 and the paper of others deteriorated over the millennium prior to their discovery in 1900. Nevertheless, no matter what their physical condition occult miscellanies are the actual books – or *realia* – used by ancient and medieval readers. Assessing their characteristics as books, the first point to note is that occult miscellanies are unlike books listed in bibliographic records. A book listed by title in a bibliography, and perhaps ascribed to an author or compiler, has

12 *Zhenben qianjin yaofang*, 630.
13 *Han shu*, 30.1774 and 1776. See Harper 1999, 822–23, for further discussion.

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achieved a stable identity. Its placement in the classification system of the bibliography further identifies the book with the subdivision of knowledge to which it properly belongs. Perusing book titles in the six subdivisions of the *shushu* 'calculations and arts' division in the *Han shu* bibliographic treatise, one has the impression of *shushu* literature neatly classified by specialties, each specialty represented by its own texts. The following five titles are examples: *Jindu yuheng Han wuxing keliu churu* 金度玉衡漢五星客流出入 (Lodgings, progressions, exits, and entrances of the five stars of Han according to the bronze measure and jade transverse), in eight fascicles (*pian* 篇), in the subdivision *tianwen* 天文 'heaven patterns';[14] *Guo Zhang guan ni yun yu* 國章觀霓雲雨 (Guo Zhang's observations of rainbows, clouds, and rain), in thirty-four scrolls (*juan* 卷), also in *tianwen*;[15] *Feng hou guxu* 風后孤虛 (Lord Wind's orphan-empty system), in twenty scrolls, in the subdivision *wuxing* 五行 'five agents';[16] *Ti erming zazhan* 嚏耳鳴雜占 (Miscellaneous divination for sneezing and ear-ringing), in sixteen scrolls, in the subdivision *zazhan* 雜占 'miscellaneous divination';[17] *Zhi buxiang he guiwu* 執不祥劾鬼物 (Seizing the unpropitious and subjugating spectral entities), in eight scrolls, also in *zazhan*.[18]

Among Dunhuang manuscripts there are several examples of occult books with titles that are also recorded in bibliographic records, and one example of a book that is extant in a transmitted edition: *Lingqi jing* 靈棋經 (Classic of numinous counters).[19] As a rule, however, ancient and medieval manuscripts with occult content are miscellanies that collect pieces of textual material according to the plan of the individual who made the manuscript, who might have repeated an arrangement of textual material that recurs in other manuscripts while at times introducing variations. Oral knowledge must have been continually added to the textual mix, but examples of exact or nearly exact text parallels shared between ancient and medieval manuscripts are proof of a fact that may have been assumed implicitly by the medieval elite: the written occult knowledge available to them was an accumulation of material, some of which had been transmitted in writing for over a thousand years as passages were reincorporated into texts and manuscripts of varying content. Textual survival depended on the happenstance

14 *Han shu*, 30.1764. The five stars are the five naked-eye planets; the bronze measure and jade transverse refer to observational instruments.

15 *Han shu*, 30.1764.

16 *Han shu*, 30.1768 (the 'orphan-empty' system is discussed below, 329–30).

17 *Han shu*, 30.1772.

18 *Han shu*, 30.1772.

19 Kalinowski 2003, 313–15.

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of a passage recurring in a variety of texts in multiple manuscript copies over time rather than on the careful and unbroken manuscript transmission of a single text.

Thus, ancient and medieval manuscript miscellanies with occult content attest to the circulation of texts and manuscripts that are mostly unattested in bibliographic records and transmitted sources, yet were part of a manuscript culture that influenced ideas and practices. The roles of compiler, copyist, and reader for miscellanies must have been fluid, with instances of individuals who compiled and copied manuscripts for their own use as well as instances of readers who wanted to acquire the manuscripts. Text parallels indicate that the manuscript miscellanies share textual traditions with transmitted sources such as *Yisi zhan*. The relationship among the manuscripts and between them and transmitted sources shows that compilers of transmitted sources positioned themselves within a shared tradition of knowledge recorded in written texts.

In contrast to *Yisi zhan*, which represents a classified summation of knowledge by a man – Li Chunfeng – who held the position of *taishi* 太史 'grand astrologer-scribe' at the Tang court and was a famous figure in his day, ancient and medieval occult miscellanies were used in everyday circumstances by everyman (chiefly every literate man and woman). Manuscripts are alike in regarding occult agencies as part of everyday reality, whether the activities of spirits, the effects of powers associated with cyclical processes such as *yinyang* 陰陽 and *wuxing* 五行 'five agents,' or the manifestation of unusual phenomena. They record knowledge to interpret signs or to respond when the activities of the hidden world affect people, to tap agencies for personal benefit, or perhaps simply to satisfy the curiosity for knowledge. Manuscripts offer a kind of practical knowledge, a reflexive knowledge that gave meaning to individual experience without theoretical elaboration. From the perspective of ancient and medieval manuscript culture, occult miscellanies simultaneously supported and defined the reality of ordinary and unusual events that their content addressed.

Two further aspects of occult miscellanies require comment as background to the testimony of the manuscripts themselves: secrecy and esoteric knowledge, and magico-religious knowledge. Statements occasionally occur in manuscripts that admonish the reader to maintain the secrecy of the text, but they have the appearance of a convention of secrecy rather than a binding injunction.[20] The statements reflect a popularized culture of secrecy shared among the elite who read and used occult miscellanies: secrecy added value to the knowledge as well as to the manuscript itself as a desirable object because it contained secret

20 See below, 338, for a statement on secrecy in P2610.

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knowledge. Nothing about occult miscellanies suggests that their content was esoteric, secret knowledge accessible to initiates who were sworn to secrecy. Nevertheless, a popular concept of secrecy suggests the existence of esoteric traditions that maintain the secrecy of texts. Daoist religion is one such tradition.[21] We might reasonably presume that ancient and medieval specialists in varieties of occult knowledge possessed certain texts that were truly kept secret within a defined group, while other texts circulated among the elite readership for occult literature. Given that specialists themselves played a role in promoting occult literature, the notion of secrecy and its observance would have been inconstant.

My approach to using the terms magic, religion, and magico-religious for research on ancient and medieval China is pragmatic; that is, my concern is to recognize relevant evidence rather than to explain magic and religion.[22] Cults devoted to specific spirits; rituals, sacrifices, incantations, and methods of divination to engage the spirits; specialists, among whom a short list for the ancient period would include *zhu* 祝 'incantor,' *bushi* 卜筮 'turtle-shell and milfoil diviners,' and *wu* 巫 'spirit medium' – all are indicative of a distinctive sphere of organized magico-religious activity. The medieval organization of Daoist religion and Buddhism makes plausible a further conception of a clergy who ministered to a laity. However, the oldest excavated occult miscellanies of the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE already attest to a wider sphere of occult ideas and practices that placed religious specialists in the company of other specialists such as astrologers, calendar-makers, physicians, and self-identified specialists whose social prestige depended on the recognition that occult knowledge, broadly defined, was itself a field of knowledge that commanded the notice of society.[23] The manuscripts communicated occult knowledge to an elite readership, and their existence reinforced the status of the knowledge as well as of the specialists whose services remained in demand. The precise accounts in occult miscellanies of incantations and magico-ritual acts to be used in specific circumstances give us a view of what 'non-specialists' might do for themselves. Given the paucity of evidence for the activities of the specialists, occult miscellanies are valuable as a representation of magico-religious practices by non-specialists and specialists.

21 See Raz 2004, 262–66, for discussion of medieval Daoist esoteric traditions associated with the *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 太上靈寶五符序 (Array of the five numinous treasure talismans of the Most High).

22 See my earlier statements in Harper 1998, 148–50; and Harper 1999, 816–17.

23 Self-identified specialists include the category of *fangshi* 方士 'recipe gentlemen,' first mentioned in Han sources; see Harper 1999, 818 and 827.

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While one effect of the formation of occult knowledge and occult literature was to enrich the lives of the elite readership, another effect was to codify common customs or folk knowledge as part of the same body of written knowledge. For example, one of two 3rd century BCE occult miscellanies from Zhoujiatai 周家臺 tomb 30, Hubei (described below), gives the method for washing silkworm eggs at dawn, including an incantation whose words are recorded in the manuscript. The same manuscript describes how to ensure that heads of grain ripen to maturity by sprinkling the ash of cooked millet prepared for sacrificial use on the seeds at planting time.[24] Once recorded in manuscripts, oral folk knowledge acquired a further identity as written occult knowledge.

Examples of manuscripts presented below illustrate aspects of occult miscellanies both as *realia* for their original users and as objects of historical investigation for us, including transmission of ancient written occult knowledge as evidenced by text parallels in medieval Dunhuang manuscripts and transmitted sources, the arrangement of texts on manuscripts, the characteristics of occult knowledge as represented in manuscript texts, and the relation of these texts to transmitted sources. The selection is small, encompassing seven ancient manuscripts from four tombs in Hubei and Hunan, and three Dunhuang manuscripts. Collectively, however, I would argue that they are a microcosm of occult knowledge in ancient and medieval manuscript culture. Singly, they speak to the effect of written occult knowledge on the lives of ancient and medieval readers.

3 Textual continuity in ancient and medieval manuscripts

I begin with text parallels, selecting passages from three ancient manuscripts in which the exact or nearly exact wording occurs in a Dunhuang manuscript or in a lost work quoted in Qutan Xida's *Kaiyuan zhanjing*. More examples could be given, and examples of similar content demonstrate a broad pattern of textual links between the ancient and medieval manuscripts, but these three manuscripts are proof that written occult knowledge survived due to continual transmission in writing as many people copied occult texts in manuscripts of their own making.

24 *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu*, 133–134. The manuscript is discussed below, 314–315 and 327–330.

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The first example is from one of two bamboo-slip occult miscellanies found in Zhoujiatai tomb 30, Hubei, mentioned above. The tomb was excavated in 1993; the burial is dated ca. 209 BCE The deceased was male and died in his thirties based on dental analysis. He was a local government official, probably low-ranking.[25] The manuscript consists of seventy-three slips, roughly finished (on some slips the joints of the bamboo have not been scraped smooth), and of varying length and width (between 21.7 to 23 cm long, between 0.4 to 1 cm wide, and between 0.06 to 0.15 cm thick). Graphs on the wider slips are larger and the handwriting more cursive than on the narrower slips. The seventy-three slips were found in a pile (the binding cords had disintegrated) underneath two other manuscripts in a basket.[26] Because the manuscript is composed of recipe-like entries, often contained on a single slip, it is not possible to determine the original sequence of slips in the manuscript. The passage below occupies a single, narrower slip, s363. The black mark at the top signifies a new item in the text; the hooks (∟) are text markers, here serving to highlight the listing of four of the five agents:[27]

> ■ 有行而急不得須良日東行越木∟南行越火∟西行越金∟北行越水毋須良日可也
> When travel is urgent and you cannot wait for a good day: when traveling east overcome Wood; when traveling south overcome Fire; when traveling west overcome Metal; when traveling north overcome Water. It is all right to not wait for a good day.

The advice is simple. Travel should normally begin on lucky days (determination of auspicious times for travel, whether departing or returning, is a common topic in occult manuscripts), but when necessary you may resort to the principle of conquest between agents: use a material associated with Metal (west) for travel to the east because Metal conquers the Wood of east; similarly, Water (north) conquers south's Fire, Fire conquers west's Metal, and Earth (center) conquers north's Water. Exactly how the traveler is to overcome the agent of the direction of travel is not explained in the Zhoujiatai manuscript, but is explained in a related passage in a bamboo-slip occult miscellany from Kongjiapo 孔家坡 tomb 8, Hubei, excavated in 2000. A wood-

25 *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu*, 145–60.

26 *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu*, 153–56.

27 *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu*, 133. Reference is by slip (s) numbers or by column (c) numbers for silk manuscripts and Dunhuang manuscripts. For ancient manuscripts I also cite the page of the modern transcription in the published source (plates of the original slips or silk may be consulted using slip or column numbers). For convenience, my transcription in this article uses standard modern graphs. For the original forms of many graphs consult the source cited. Lacunae, either because the manuscript is damaged or because graphs are illegible, are indicated with square brackets enclosing the estimated number of missing graphs; [?] means that the number of missing graphs cannot be determined.

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tablet mortuary document in the tomb indicates that the deceased was buried in 142 BCE and that he was a low-ranking local government official whose personal name was Pi 辟.[28] The Kongjiapo manuscript devotes three slips (s105–107) to the *wusheng* 五勝 'five conquerors' – the five agents in their conquest function – and makes explicit what is implicit in the Zhoujiatai manuscript: to travel east, conquer Wood by carrying a piece of iron; to travel south, conquer Fire by carrying a vessel filled with water; to travel north, conquer Water by carrying earth wrapped in cloth; to travel west, conquer Metal by carrying charcoal wrapped in cloth (representing Fire).[29]

The Zhoujiatai manuscript statement about overcoming the five agents recurs over a millennium later in a Dunhuang manuscript (P2661v◦), in a section on travel at the end of a text entitled *Zhu zalüe deyao chaozi yiben* 諸雜略得要抄子一本 (Summation of the various miscellanies that obtains their essentials in a single copy):[30]

> 東行越木南方越火西方越金北方越水是也
> When traveling east overcome Wood; for the south quarter overcome Fire; for the west quarter overcome Metal; for the north quarter overcome Water. This is it.

Except for substituting *fang* 方 'quarter' for *xing* 行 'travel' after the first phrase, the wording is identical to the Zhoujiatai manuscript. The final phrase 'This is it' suggests that the information was a well-known formula. The possibility of oral transmission of formulas cannot be excluded, but the Zhoujiatai manuscript is compelling evidence of written transmission for the travel formula.[31]

P2661v◦ was copied by Yin Anren 尹安仁 on the verso of a paper scroll whose recto is a portion of the ancient dictionary *Erya* 爾雅 (Conforming to refined usage). The scroll itself is notable for being undamaged at both ends (the beginning or the end of an original Dunhuang manuscript scroll is often missing). A colophon on the recto indicates that the manuscript with *Erya* copied on it had been in the possession of a Yin clan member in 774. On the verso Yin Anren identifies himself in the first column as a student at the local school, then writes a blank date formula with the words for 'year, month, day, hour' (歲月日時) without recording an actual date. He appears to have copied texts on the verso in the 9th or 10th century. The title *Zhu zalüe deyao chaozi yiben* (Summation of the various miscellanies that obtains their essentials in a single copy) occurs in c31, which applies to the text that occupies the

28 *Suizhou Kongjiapo Han mu jiandu*, 32–35.
29 *Suizhou Kongjiapo Han mu jiandu*, 140.
30 P2661v◦, c160. See Kalinowski 2003, 252–53, for a description of the manuscript.
31 In transmitted sources the same method is recorded in the 15th century Japanese work *Kichinichikō hiden* 吉日考秘傳; see Nakamura 1985, 435–36.

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remainder of the verso. The content before c31 is haphazard, more like a writing exercise or draft than a formal copy of a text. Beginning with c31 and *Zhu zalüe deyao chaozi yiben* the remainder of the verso may seem random to the modern eye, but appears to represent Yin Anren's own compilation of material from other occult miscellanies available to him.

The second example is in a bamboo-slip occult manuscript excavated from Wangjiatai 王家臺 tomb 15, Hubei, in 1993 (burial dated mid-3rd century BCE). The deceased was probably a local government official. When the tomb was excavated the manuscript was found at the bottom of a stack of five manuscripts. Based on its content the excavators assigned the title *Zaiyi zhan* 災異占 (Divination of calamities and prodigies) to the manuscript. There were two more occult manuscripts in the tomb: a record of milfoil divination and hexagrams different from the *Zhou yi* 周易 (Changes of Zhou) or *Yijing* 易經 (Classic of changes); and an occult miscellany.[32] The slips of *Zaiyi zhan* were loose and many were broken because of the pressure of manuscripts and objects placed above; including broken slips, there are eighty-four extant slips.[33] Originally sequential numbers were written at the bottom of slips to organize the separate entries, the highest number on extant slips being 101. However, many numbers between 1–101 are missing, and because of the poor condition of the slips it is often not possible to associate fragments of a slip-bottom with the text that was written above. As a result, the original sequence of the slips cannot be determined.[34]

Each entry records a prodigious event together with its portentous consequences for humankind. The following three entries match fragments of Jing Fang's 京房 (77–37 BCE) omenology as quoted in *Kaiyuan zhanjing*. For each Wangjiatai manuscript entry, the corresponding *Kaiyuan zhanjing* quotation is placed underneath:

> s94
> 邦有槀木生邦有大喪
> In the state when a withered tree comes to life, there is great mourning in the state.
> *Kaiyuan zhanjing*:[35] 京房易傳曰木枯而生不及二年國有大喪
> Jing Fang's *Changes Commentary* states, 'When a tree is withered and comes to life, before two years are up there is great mourning in the state.'

32 Wang Mingqin 2004, 29–48. For recent discussion of the Wangjiatai divination record, which has been identified as the lost Guicang 歸藏, see Shaughnessy 2006, 156–57; see also, Harper 1999, 857.

33 Wang Mingqin 2004, 26–27.

34 Photographs of the original slips have not yet been published. Chinese transcription in the examples below is based on Wang Mingqin 2004, 47–48.

35 *Kaiyuan zhanjing*, 112.4a.

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s95
邦有木冬生外入俱亂王國不平
In the state when a tree comes to life in winter, outside and inside are both disordered, and the king and state are not settled.
Kaiyuan zhanjing:[36] 京房曰木冬生王者不平
Jing Fang states, 'When a tree comes to life in winter, the king is not settled.'

s96
邦有野獸與邑畜戰於邦朝是謂 [2] 必有它國來 [?]
In the state when wild animals fight the city's domestic animals at the court of the state, this is called . . ., and invariably there is another state that comes . . .
Kaiyuan zhanjing:[37] 京房 . . . 又曰野獸來與家畜鬬有隣國來伐國將亡
Jing Fang . . . also states, 'When wild animals come and combat household domestic animals, there is a neighboring state that comes and attacks, and the state will perish.'

The name of Jing Fang and the many works attributed to him – especially occult interpretations of the *Yi* (Changes) – are foundational for five agents, *yinyang*, and *shushu* knowledge beginning from his own lifetime.[38] The Wangjiatai *Zaiyi zhan* provides 3rd century BCE evidence of textual antecedents to omenological writings associated with Jing Fang in transmitted sources, either in texts that Jing Fang might have compiled or in works later attributed to him. Further, as suggested by the other Wangjiatai occult manuscripts, omenological texts were one of the types of occult literature that circulated in a milieu of literate people who expected the texts to be of use in their everyday life. Jing Fang or textual traditions attached to his name adapted existing occult literature to their purposes, creating new texts while transmitting older written knowledge.

Besides the Jing Fang quotation related to s96, *Kaiyuan zhanjing* quotes the same text parallel from another lost book, the medieval *Dijing* 地鏡 (Earth mirror):[39]

野獸與家畜來鬬他國來伐國
When wild animals come and combat household domestic animals, another state comes and attacks the state.

The nature of *Dijing* as an omnifarious collection of occult knowledge – a 'mirror' revealing knowledge of the world – is discussed below. While we might suppose that *Dijing* relied on Jing Fang textual traditions as its source, given the evidence of the Wangjiatai *Zaiyi zhan* it is equally likely that this piece of written

36 *Kaiyuan zhanjing*, 112.4b.
37 *Kaiyuan zhanjing*, 116.25a.
38 Nielsen 2003, 129–32; Loewe 2000, 199–200.
39 *Kaiyuan zhanjing*, 116.25a.

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knowledge was simply in circulation in a variety of occult manuscripts when it was incorporated into the *Dijing* that is quoted in *Kaiyuan zhanjing*.

In the 1st century BCE, Jing Fang was on the cusp of the Han-time appearance of *chenwei* 讖緯 'prophecy and weft-text' literature. The emergence of weft-texts in the 1st and 2nd centuries CE was related to Han court-centered political and ideological developments. Government orthodoxy was already vested textually in *jing* 經 'classics, warp-texts' – defined by the six categories of *jing* identified in the *Han shu* bibliographic treatise.[40] *Wei* 'weft-texts' together with *chen* 'prophecies' were claimed to be the occult complement to *jing*, revealing esoteric knowledge and promising access to power. The *Hetu* 河圖 (River diagram) and *Luoshu* 洛書 (Luo document), both legendary emblems of divine revelation and political power, were also regarded as *jing* with their associated *wei*. The claims were contested at the time and the status of *chenwei* remained unstable in the centuries after the Han. By the early 7th century the *chenwei* corpus was fragmentary due to decrees by several rulers prohibiting their circulation and ordering destruction of existing copies, culminating with the decree by Thearch Yang of the Sui 隋煬帝 in 604, after which 'their study was not renewed, and even in the secret depository at court [*chenwei*] were mostly scattered and lost.'[41]

The third example is an exact text parallel between a 2nd century BCE manuscript and a *chenwei* text quoted in *Kaiyuan zhanjing*, showing that *chenwei* literature, like Jing Fang textual traditions, incorporated written occult knowledge from older sources such as the newly discovered manuscript. The manuscript is among the silk manuscripts excavated in 1973 from Mawangdui 馬王堆 tomb 3, Hunan (burial dated 168 BCE). Based on skeletal analysis the deceased was a man in his thirties and was most likely a son of Li Cang 利蒼, whom archaeologists can identify with certainty as the man buried in Mawangdui tomb 2. Li Cang was an aristocrat and chancellor in the Kingdom of Changsha 長沙國 under the Han dynasty. According to historical sources, one son, Li Xi 利豨, succeeded to his father's aristocratic title.[42] Mawangdui tomb 3 manuscripts are famous for two copies of a work in two parts entitled *De* 德and *Dao* 道respectively, and known to us with the

40 *Han shu*, 30.1703–16: *Yi* (Changes), *Shu* 書 (Documents), *Shi* 詩 (Songs), *Li* 禮 (Rites), *Yue* 樂 (Music), *Chunqiu* 春秋 (Spring and autumn).

41 *Sui shu*, 32.941 (from the account of *wei* 'weft-texts' following the subdivision of the *Sui shu* bibliographic treatise devoted to them). Yasui and Nakamura 1966, 260–64, summarizes historical records of prohibitions of *chenwei*; 356–71, is a table of weft-texts for which textual fragments have survived in transmitted sources. For background on *chenwei*, see also Dull 1966; and Seidel 1983, 291–323.

42 There has been disagreement over the identity of the deceased in Mawangdui tomb 3. For various arguments and summary of evidence that the deceased was Li Xi, see Fu Juyou 2004.

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parts reversed as *Daode jing* 道德經 (Classic of way and power) or *Laozi* 老子 (*De* and *Dao* are written as end titles in the second, younger copy from Mawangdui). Forty-eight texts from Mawangdui are unknown in received editions, ranging from philosophical and historical writings to works on medicine, astrology, and horse physiognomy. As with the Wangjiatai manuscripts, Mawangdui manuscripts include writings that someone not a medical or *shushu* specialist by occupation might have possessed.[43]

Two Mawangdui occult manuscripts are copies of the same pair of texts, but in a different arrangement on the silk. There are no titles on the original manuscripts. The first text concerns a system called *xingde* 刑德 'punishment and virtue,' an astro-calendrical method to calculate lucky and unlucky times and positions. Two diagrams are drawn above the text. The text with accompanying diagrams has been designated *Xingde* A on the first manuscript and *Xingde* B on the second manuscript.[44] The main content of the second text treats of the sun, moon, wind, rain, clouds, and vapors, whence the title assigned to it by Liu Lexian, *Riyue fengyu yunqi zhan* 日月風雨雲氣占 (Divination of sun, moon, wind, rain, clouds, and vapors), distinguishing between copy A on the first manuscript and copy B on the second manuscript.[45] The first manuscript is somewhat older than the second, copied as early as the beginning of the 2nd century BCE; the second manuscript can be no later than 168 BCE.[46] On the first manuscript, *Riyue fengyu yunqi zhan* A occupies the right side and *Xingde* A occupies the left side of the sheet of silk; the order is reversed on the second manuscript, *Riyue fengyu yunqi zhan* B on the left and *Xingde* B on the right.

The third example is transcribed from *Riyue fengyu yunqi zhan* A:[47]

> 月七日不弦 主人將死
> On the seventh day of the month the moon does not form a strung bow. The ruler will die.

Compare the corresponding passage in the weft-text *Hetu dilan xi* 河圖帝覽嬉 (River diagram: Thearch gazing with delight) from *Kaiyuan zhanjing*:[48]

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43 See the summary of silk manuscripts in *Changsha Mawangdui er san hao Han mu*, 87–91.
44 See Kalinowski 1998–99 for a study of the *Xingde* texts.
45 Liu Lexian 2003a, 7–8 and 17–18.
46 Liu Lexian 2003a, 20.
47 I follow the transcription in Liu Lexian 2003a, 161–62. I have benefited from the translation of *Riyue fengyu yunqi zhan* by Ethan Harkness, doctoral student at the University of Chicago (unpublished typescript, March 2007). Harkness notes the specific denotation 'defender' for *zhuren* 主人 in ancient Chinese military terminology (contrasting with *ke* 客 'attacker').
48 *Kaiyuan zhanjing*, 11.14b.

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> 月十日不弦 以戰不勝主將死
> On the tenth day of the month the moon does not form a strung bow. In battle there is not victory and the ruler will die.

The passage concerns the waxing moon, with the seventh day marking the crescent or 'strung bow' phase. Errors involving the graphs *qi* 七 'seven' and *shi* 十 'ten' are frequent in manuscripts. In this case the Mawangdui text can be used to emend the *Kaiyuan zhanjing* quotation.

Liu Lexian documents more examples of content related to astrology and celestial phenomena that is shared between ancient occult manuscripts and fragments of *Hetu dilan xi*, other weft-texts, and occult sources quoted in *Kaiyuan zhanjing* and *Yisi zhan*.[49] In the case of *Hetu dilan xi*, all of the 311 extant fragments concern astrology and celestial phenomena and all but twenty-seven fragments are quotations in *Kaiyuan zhanjing*.[50] Fragments of other *Hetu* weft-texts preserved in other transmitted sources attest to content that probably occurred in *Hetu dilan xi* – including accounts of the revelation of the *Hetu* – but because the *Kaiyuan zhanjing* compilers did not select this kind of material and because few other transmitted sources quote *Hetu dilan xi*, the selectiveness of the *Kaiyuan zhanjing* compilers has determined what we know of its content. For us, their selectiveness highlights the influence of earlier occult literature, as evidenced by the manuscripts, on the formation of *chenwei* literature. For ancient and medieval readers, the most obvious difference between the more popular occult manuscripts and *chenwei* literature would have been the prestige of the latter based on the association of *wei* 'weft-texts' with *jing* 'classics.' Despite government prohibitions, compilers of medieval works such as *Kaiyuan zhanjing* and *Yisi zhan* regarded *chenwei* sources as authoritative in ways that occult manuscripts were not. Nevertheless, they knew what is apparent to us: that *chenwei* literature shared occult content with those manuscripts.

A passage in Yin Anren's *Zhu zalüe deyao chaozi yiben* demonstrates medieval awareness of the relationship between the two kinds of occult sources:[51]

> 以太歲日懸虎頭戶上令子孫孝壽宜官位. 一經云虎鼻吉.
> On the great-year day[52] hanging a tiger head over the doorway makes sons and grandsons

49 Liu Lexian 2003, 341–51; Liu Lexian 2003a, 29–194, transcribes three Mawangdui *shushu* texts and identifies parallels with received sources in the annotation.
50 Yasui and Nakamura 1971–1992, vol. 6, 54–85.
51 P2661v◦, c54.
52 Taisui *ri* 太歲日 'great-year day' is the first day of the first lunar month; that is, New Year's Day. See Tan Chanxue 1998, 64.

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filial and long-lived and is conducive to obtaining office. One *Classic* states: Tiger nose is auspicious.

The unnamed *jing* 'classic' is probably the *wei* 'weft-text' *Longyu hetu* 龍魚河圖 (Dragon-fish river diagram), as quoted in a Song encyclopedia:[53]

> 懸文虎鼻門上宜官子孫帶印綬. 懸虎鼻門中周一年取燒作屑與婦飲之. 二月中便兒生貴子. 勿令人知之. 泄則不驗也. 亦勿令婦人見之.
> Hanging a patterned-tiger nose over the doorway is conducive to obtaining office, and sons and grandsons will wear the seal and sash. Hang a tiger nose in the doorway for an entire year, incinerate and reduce to fine flakes, and have the woman drink it. In the second month there will be a son who at birth will be noble. Do not let others know of it; if divulged, verification does not occur. Also do not let the woman observe it.

Longyu hetu quotations occur in a variety of transmitted sources, and their content ranges from mythology and astrology to popular occult lore. The tiger-nose passage reads like occult recipes in manuscripts and transmitted sources, including the instructions for preparation of magical substances and the injunction to act in secret lest their efficacy is lost. In P2661v◦, the *Longyu hetu* 'tiger nose' is identified as an alternative to Yin Anren's main textual source which stipulates 'tiger head.' Reference to the 'classic' validates the practice of using a tiger head without making an issue of the textual authority of *jing* and *chenwei*. There are other examples of popular occult lore shared between P2661v◦ and *Longyu hetu* fragments, but they are not explicitly noted by Yin Anren. Moreover, the same lore is quoted in other medieval transmitted sources, which may identify a text other than *Longyu hetu* as the source. As pieces of written occult knowledge the shared passages were not defined by their association with a particular text.[54]

I offer a single example of similar content to demonstrate textual links between ancient and medieval occult manuscripts that perpetuated occult ideas and practices. An ancient incantation to be chanted after experiencing a nightmare, recorded in two 3rd century BCE bamboo-slip occult miscellanies from Shuihudi 睡虎地 tomb 11, Hubei (burial dated ca. 217 BCE), has a counterpart in the Dunhuang manuscript P2682r◦, a medieval demonographic text entitled *Baize jingguai tu* 白

53 *Taiping yulan*, 891.3b; Yasui and Nakamura 1971–1992, vol. 6, 96.

54 For example, P2661v◦, c95, on burying silkworm detritus in the house for good luck, corresponds to *Longyu hetu*, Yasui and Nakamura 1971–1992, vol. 6, 95. The *Longyu hetu* fragment was preserved in the 6th century agricultural book *Qimin yaoshu* 齊民要術 (Everyman's essential arts). The 10th century Japanese medical compendium *Ishinpō*, 26.554, describes the same method but identifies the source as *Zhenzhong fang* 枕中方 (Recipes from inside the headrest).

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澤精怪圖 (White Marsh's diagrams of spectral prodigies). Shuihudi tomb 11 was excavated in 1975. The deceased was a government official, personal name Xi 喜, who probably died at the age of forty-six *sui* 歲.[55] The second Shuihudi manuscript has the title *Rishu* 日書 'day book' written on a slip at the end, and has been designated *Rishu* B; the first manuscript, whose content is related but is untitled, is referred to as *Rishu* A. Shuihudi *Rishu* A and *Rishu* B include sections on astro-calendrical, hemerological, and magico-religious matters, but they are not identical texts. Examples of this type of occult miscellany have been discovered in many ancient tombs, and *rishu* 'day book' has become the name applied to manuscripts that appear to fit the type (of manuscripts mentioned above, occult miscellanies from Zhoujiatai, Wangjiatai, and Kongjiapo have been identified as *rishu*). *Rishu* manuscripts from 4th to 1st century BCE tombs, whose occupants range from ordinary government office-holders to high officials and aristocrats, show that *rishu* are distinctive collections of shared occult material, not different copies of the same book; the hand of the compiler is evident in each manuscript. Moreover, their content reflects a concern for the welfare of the household and oneself.[56]

In Shuihudi *Rishu* A the heading 'Meng' 夢 (Dream) is written at the top of the first of the two slips with the nightmare incantation, which is the only content of the section (s13v◦–14v◦):[57]

> 人有惡夢乃繹髮西北面禱之曰皐敢告爾𢓊𠊱某有惡夢走歸𢓊𠊱之所𢓊𠊱強飲強食賜某大幅非錢乃布非繭乃絮則止矣
> When a person has foul dreams, on wakening then unbind the hair, sit facing the northwest and chant this prayer: 'Heigh! I dare to declare you to Qinqi. So-and-so has had foul dreams. Flee back home to the place of Qinqi. Qinqi, drink heartily, eat heartily. Grant so-and-so great broadcloth.[58] If not coins, then cloth. If not cocoons, then silkstuff.' Then it will stop.

The idea behind the *dao* 禱 'prayer' (specifically, an incantation promising offerings to spirits in anticipation of receiving their favor) is that a nightmare is a form of demonic attack and that the incantation counteracts harmful consequences of the attack. The verbal action (the incantation) is accompanied by ritual action (unbound hair and direction of sitting position). We learn from the incantation that Qinqi 𢓊𠊱 is the spirit world overseer of nightmare demons, hence the words of the incantation summon Qinqi and command the demons to return to

55 *Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian*, 1–2.
56 See the survey of *rishu* in Liu Lexian 2003, 27–38.
57 *Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian*, 210.
58 No doubt *fu* 幅 'broadcloth' puns with *fu* 福 'blessings' and *fu* 富 'wealth.'

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Qinqi's supervision. Simultaneously, the person chanting the incantation (represented in the text by 'so-and-so,' replaced by the person's name when chanting) offers sacrificial drink and food to Qinqi and requests material blessings in return.

Stems		**Branches**	
s1 甲 jia	s6 己 *ji*	b1 子 *zi*	b7 午 *wu*
s2 乙 *yi*	s7 庚 *geng*	b2 丑 *chou*	b8 未 *wei*
s3 丙 bing	s8 辛 *xin*	b3 寅 *yin*	b9 申 *shen*
s4 丁 ding	s9 壬 *ren*	b4 卯 *mao*	b10 酉 *you*
s5 戊 *wu*	s10 癸 *gui*	b5 辰 *chen*	b11 戌 *xu*
		b6 巳 *si*	b12 亥 *hai*

The sexagenary cycle in numerical notation

n1–10:	s1-b1	s2-b2	s3-b3	s4-b4	s5-b5	s6-b6	s7-b7	s8-b8	s9-b9	s10-b10
	甲子	乙丑	丙寅	丁卯	戊辰	己巳	庚午	辛未	壬申	癸酉
n11–20:	s1-b11	s2-b12	s3-b1	s4-b2	s5-b3	s6-b4	s7-b5	s8-b6	s9-b7	s10-b8
	甲戌	乙亥	丙子	丁丑	戊寅	己卯	庚辰	辛巳	壬午	癸未
n21–30:	s1-b9	s2-b10	s3-b11	s4-b12	s5-b1	s6-b2	s7-b3	s8-b4	s9-b5	s10-b6
	甲申	乙酉	丙戌	丁亥	戊子	己丑	庚寅	辛卯	壬辰	癸巳
n31–40:	s1-b7	s2-b8	s3-b9	s4-b10	s5-b11	s6-b12	s7-b1	s8-b2	s9-b3	s10-b4
	甲午	乙未	丙申	丁酉	戊戌	己亥	庚子	辛丑	壬寅	癸卯
n41–50:	s1-b5	s2-b6	s3-b7	s4-b8	s5-b9	s6-b10	s7-b11	s8-b12	s9-b1	s10-b2
	甲辰	乙巳	丙午	丁未	戊申	己酉	庚戌	辛亥	壬子	癸丑
n51–60:	s1-b3	s2-b4	s3-b5	s4-b6	s5-b7	s6-b8	s7-b9	s8-b10	s9-b11	s10-b12
	甲寅	乙卯	丙辰	丁巳	戊午	己未	庚申	辛酉	壬戌	癸亥

Tab. 1: Stems and Branches, and the Sexagenary Cycle.

In *Rishu* B the nightmare incantation is written on the last two slips of a section occupying seven slips, with the heading 'Meng' (Dream) written at the top of the second slip of the section.[59] The first five slips of the section describe a system of dream divination based on five kinds of dream (mainly associated with colors) and on the day the dream occurs according to the ten *tiangan* 天干 'heaven stems'

59 *Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian*, 247 (s189–195).

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of the sexagenary day-counting cycle (Tab. 1). In the incantation, the spirit overseer of nightmare demons is named Wanqi 宛奇, not Qinqi. Besides the different names, there are differences in wording between the two manuscripts in the phrases preceding the incantation and in the incantation itself. The two Shuihudi *Rishu* have the same content but in different written versions.

Here is the related medieval text from P2682r◦, c80–82:

> 人夜得惡夢旦起於舍東北被髮呪曰伯奇伯奇不飲酒食肉常食高興地其惡夢歸於伯奇厭夢息興大福如此七呪無咎也
>
> When a person has foul dreams at night, rise at dawn, and in the northeast part of the house unbind the hair and chant this incantation: 'Boqi, Boqi. He does not drink ale or eat meat, and regularly eats the earth of High Elevation. May these foul dreams return home to Boqi. Crushing dreams cease, give rise to great blessings.' Chant the incantation like this seven times and there will not be spirit odium.

P2682r◦ is an example of a popular medieval demonographic genre associated with Baize (White Marsh), identified in transmitted sources as a spirit protector who revealed the name and identity of all spirit creatures and demonic hazards to the Yellow Thearch 黃帝 for the benefit of humankind.[60] The title *Baize tu* (White Marsh's diagrams) is listed in medieval bibliographic records and fragments attributed to the book are quoted in transmitted sources, but only P2682r◦ shows us a copy of the actual book. Most of the scroll is missing. The title *Baize jingguai tu* is written in the last column of text, followed by the statement that forty-one sheets of paper were used to make the scroll; P2682r◦ preserves only the last seven sheets. The copyist identifies himself in the penultimate column. He is a Buddhist monk, Daoxin 道昕, secular surname Fan 范, and he writes that he has copied the manuscript for use by Daoists and Buddhist monks. As the only surviving example, we cannot know the relation of P2682r◦ to other manuscript copies of a *Baize tu* that were in circulation (I discuss below the probability that *Baize tu* was a generic title for a type of medieval occult miscellany, whose content varied from one copy to the next).

The original scroll of *Baize jingguai tu* was mostly composed of separate entries on demonic and unusual phenomena in which a written statement identifying the phenomenon is followed by a drawing of it. The nightmare incantation occurs in the text-only portion at the end of P2682r◦, where it is the last of four entries on ominous things that occur in the household at night. Neither these entries nor those before and after are formally arranged in sections with headings;

60 See Kalinowski 2003, 455–58, for a description of the manuscript.

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rather, the text is written in continuous columns with a blank space between entries. The other entries are a mixture of occult information regarding demonic and unusual phenomena, including divining the meaning of noises emitted by cooking vessels on the kitchen stove. Some of the information occurs in other Dunhuang occult miscellanies and in transmitted sources, showing the medieval circulation of written occult knowledge. An ancient antecedent to this type of text occurs in a section of Shuihudi *Rishu* A that comes shortly after the nightmare incantation. Under the heading 'Jie' 詰 (Spellbinding) there are approximately seventy entries that describe demonic phenomena and provide a remedy for each one. Correspondences with the Dunhuang *Baize jingguai tu* include similar content as well as idiomatic expressions that are typical of the demonographic genre.[61]

Let me note the similarities between the Dunhuang *Baize jingguai tu* nightmare incantation and the Shuihudi *Rishu* A incantation: the same ritual action precedes the incantation (but facing northeast in the medieval text rather than northwest); the name for the overseer of nightmare demons is related (Boqi in the medieval text, Qinqi in the ancient text); both incantations summon the overseer and command the demons to return to his supervision; both incantations request blessings from the overseer. Most remarkable is the evident identity between Boqi as the medieval name for the spirit known in the 3rd century BCE as Qinqi in the *Rishu* A incantation and as Wanqi in the corresponding *Rishu* B incantation. Boqi is attested in the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Book of Later Han) treatise on ritual as the name of the spirit who 'eats dreams.' The reference occurs in the words of the curse chanted during the *danuo* 大儺 exorcism conducted on the last day of the year at the Han court, in which Boqi is one of twelve spirits summoned to eradicate demons.[62]

There is no direct textual relation between the curse text in the *Hou Han shu* and the nightmare incantations in the Shuihudi and Dunhuang occult manuscripts. The close relation between the P2682r◦ nightmare incantation and the *Rishu* A incantation indicates that the Dunhuang *Baize jingguai tu* is a medieval record of a popular magico-religious practice that had been continually transmitted in writing since the 3rd century BCE. Precisely when the name Boqi for the overseer of nightmare demons became current is not clear; perhaps new discoveries of ancient occult manuscripts will provide attestation.[63]

61 *Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian*, 212–19 (24v◦–68v◦); Harper 1985.

62 *Hou Han shu*, treatise 5, 3128; Harper 1988, 74.

63 See Harper 1988 for further discussion. The ancient and medieval manuscript evidence eliminates one conjecture: that a medieval nightmare incantation adopted the name Boqi from the

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4 Form and function of manuscript miscellanies

The choice of texts and their arrangement on manuscript miscellanies offer another perspective on the circulation of written occult knowledge. I noted above the prevalence among ancient and medieval manuscripts of occult miscellanies with multiple texts variously combined, the rarity of single-text manuscripts that might or might not identify the text by title, the overlapping roles of compiler, copyist, and reader, and the practice of individuals producing manuscripts for personal use. The title that Yin Anren wrote in P2661v◦, c. 31, *Zhu zalüe deyao chaozi yiben* (Summation of the various miscellanies that obtains their essentials in a single copy), exemplifies a medieval conception of a manuscript miscellany for the makers and users. The title announced that within a single manuscript was an 'essential summation of miscellanies' known to Yin Anren. As used by Yin Anren, *za* 雜 'mixture, blend, miscellany' had a positive connotation that is confirmed by the occurrence of *za* in book titles recorded in ancient and medieval bibliographic records.[64]

My use of 'miscellany' for a type of ancient and medieval Chinese manuscript in part translates *za* and in part follows use of 'miscellany' as a term in European manuscript studies, where its utility as a label for a common manuscript type is simultaneously criticized. Chiefly, 'miscellany' in modern usage suggests a disorganized product, whereas pre-modern European manuscripts described as miscellanies can be shown to have a definite idea of order in the compiler's choice of textual material and in the reader's expectation.[65] By examining the choice of texts and their arrangement on ancient and medieval Chinese occult miscellanies we observe how the knowledge was organized in a manuscript that also had a practical function for readers. Occult miscellanies were how most readers acquired their knowledge, and the manuscripts shaped their perception of occult ideas and practices. In contrast to the classification of occult knowledge represented by the *shushu* 'calculations and arts' division of the *Han shu* bibliographic

text of a curse used during the year-end exorcism at the Han court (it is more likely that the curse recorded in the *Hou Han shu* shows the influence of popular occult ideas and practices as recorded in manuscripts).

64 See n. 17 above for one title in the *Han shu* bibliographic treatise, in the *zazhan* subdivision of the *shushu* division. There are more examples in the *tianwen* subdivision, *Han shu*, 30.1764. See *Sui shu*, 34.1019–21, for examples of medieval titles with *za* in the *tianwen* subdivision of the *Sui shu* bibliographic treatise. The occurrence of *za* in titles is fairly common in titles in other divisions of both bibliographic treatises.

65 See Nichols and Wenzel 1996, 3–4.

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treatise and subsequent bibliographic records, or by the content of a work such as *Kaiyuan zhanjing*, occult miscellanies offer us a literate everyman's view of the organization of occult knowledge in manuscripts that ancient and medieval readers actually used. Even when the content of an occult miscellany is appropriately described as random, we are better informed of the textual exchange of knowledge as part of broad social, cultural, and intellectual patterns.

I offer brief accounts of three manuscripts as a sample of occult miscellanies, two ancient and one medieval: the two Zhoujiatai occult manuscripts and P2610. A full survey of relevant manuscripts would include examples of manuscripts with a single occult text, examples of distinctive miscellany types (such as ancient *rishu* 'day book' manuscripts), manuscripts that combine occult texts with medical texts, and medical texts whose content includes occult material that occurs in manuscript miscellanies.[66] All are evidence of the ease with which written occult knowledge was incorporated into a variety of manuscripts and they illustrate textual relations among fields of knowledge. Another feature of Dunhuang occult manuscripts was the practice of copying texts on the blank verso of a paper scroll whose recto already contained other, often well known writings, as in the case of Yin Anren's occult miscellany on the verso of a manuscript with a portion of the *Erya* on the recto. Except to remark that Yin Anren wrote on the blank verso because it was there, why ancient and medieval copyists used the space of a manuscript as they did cannot be fully explained by the manuscript itself (even in occasional colophons); yet every manuscript is a material witness to the circumstances of its production. Discussion of the Zhoujiatai manuscripts and P2610 allows me to raise several general issues related to manuscript production while at the same time speculating on the perception of these manuscripts by their ancient and medieval readers.

One of the Zhoujiatai occult miscellanies has been mentioned above for the entry on travel and the conquest sequence of the five agents (s363). The modern editors were unable to determine the original sequence of the manuscript's seventy-three slips (numbered s309–381 for publication). The editors made the current arrangement of the recipe-like entries, placing thirty-eight slips with eighteen medical recipes at the beginning (s309–346) followed by other content, and

66 For discussion of occult material in ancient medical manuscripts, see Harper 1998, 159–72 (354–55 is the translation of a section of magical recipes for traveling from a Mawangdui medical recipe manual). S5614 is an example of a medieval booklet in which four medical texts are copied with astrological and cleromantic texts; see Kalinowski 2003, 78 and 352–53.

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they assigned the title *Bingfang ji qita* 病方及其它 (Ailment recipes and other matters).[67] While we do not have an exact reconstruction of the original manuscript, the bamboo slips and their content may be analyzed as evidence of an occult miscellany made for personal use; it is not implausible that the man buried in Zhoujiatai tomb 30 made the manuscript.

Text was copied onto the slips before they were bound (in contrast, the other Zhoujiatai occult miscellany was made by first binding slips to form a continuous, blank surface to receive text and diagrams). Roughly finished slips, slips of different sizes bound together, and different handwriting on the narrower and wider slips all suggest hasty, informal manuscript production. Discontinuous content on some slips may be the result of slips that disintegrated without leaving a trace over the centuries inside the tomb.[68] However, it is also possible that slips were already missing from the bound manuscript when it was placed in the tomb. Given differences in slip size and handwriting, we might suppose several people were involved in copying written occult knowledge onto slips that were consolidated into a single, bound manuscript – and that slips might have been omitted at the final stage of manuscript production. Alternatively, the manuscript might have been made by removing slips from other bound manuscripts and re-combining them (perhaps together with newly copied slips) to make the manuscript we have. Either scenario suggests a production process adapted to personal use. The personal element is reinforced by one slip (s364) that records travel by an unnamed official to a place called Wan 宛during the seventh and eighth months of an unspecified year, but that might correspond to the thirty-sixth year (211 BCE) or thirty-seventh year (210 BCE) of the First Qin August Thearch 秦始皇帝 based on calendars for those years discovered among the Zhoujiatai tomb 30 manuscripts.[69] Might the official have been the deceased? Or perhaps he was a member of this official's staff?

67 *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu*, 126–37.

68 For example, it is clear from the content of s365 that slip(s) before it are missing.

69 *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu*, 99–102. Slip s364 specifies three days in the seventh month and one day in the eighth month using sexagenary signs, and the signs coincide with days in those months during either the thirty-sixth or thirty-seventh year.

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Fig. 1: Zhoujiatai *guxu* 'orphan-empty' system, s355–362.

Among the medical recipes, ten use drugs (s309–25) and eight detail magico-religious practices (s326–346). The remaining entries mainly concern astro-calendrical, hemerological, and magico-religious methods that have practical value in daily life, but they include recipes to eliminate rats with an arsenic preparation and to fatten cattle. From the standpoint of manuscript production and content, s355–362 are noteworthy (Fig. 1). The first six slips (s355–360) are wide and roughly finished (the bamboo joints were not smoothed) with large, cursive handwriting. The slips explain the *guxu* 孤虛 'orphan-empty' system, which is based on the sexagenary cycle of the ten *tiangan* 'heaven stem' and twelve *dizhi* 地支 'earth branch' signs divided into six decades of days (Tab. 1): s355, *jiazi xun* 甲子旬 '*jiazi* decade' (days 1–10); s356, *jiaxu xun* 甲戌 旬 '*jiaxu* decade' (days 11–20); s357, *jiashen xun* 甲申旬 '*jiashen* decade' (days 21–30); s358, *jiawu xun* 甲午旬 '*jiawu* decade' (days 31–40); s359, *jiachen xun* 甲辰旬 '*jiachen* decade' (days

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41–50); s360, *jiayin xun* 甲寅旬 '*jiayin* decade' (days 51–60). In each decade ten stems combine with ten branches, and the two branches that do not combine with stems are *gu* 'orphans'; the two branches in the middle of each decade are in opposition to the 'orphan' branches and are *xu* 'empty.' The final two slips (s361–362) are narrower slips with smaller, less cursive handwriting, and they concern the application of the *guxu* system to finding lost horses and cattle: in each decade the lost animals should be hunted in the 'orphan' direction (Tab. 2). The eight slips are the oldest full account of the *guxu* system together with an application. They form an entire unit of written occult knowledge, but are a combination of two kinds of slips with different handwriting.[70]

Decade	orphan branches	empty branches	orphan direction
*jiazi*甲子	*xu* 戌, *hai* 亥	*chen* 辰, *si* 巳	northwest
*jiaxu*甲戌	*shen* 申, *you* 酉	*yin* 寅, *mao* 卯	west
*jiashen*甲申	*wu* 午, *wei* 未	*zi* 子, *chou* 丑	south
*jiawu*甲午	*chen* 辰, *si* 巳	*xu* 戌, *hai* 亥	southeast
*jiachen*甲辰	*yin* 寅, *mao* 卯	*shen* 申, *you* 酉	east
*jiayin*甲寅	*zi* 子, *chou* 丑	*wu* 午, *wei* 未	north

Tab. 2: Zhoujiatai *guxu* 'orphan-empty' system, s355–362.

The bamboo slips of the other Zhoujiatai occult miscellany were found at the top of the basket of manuscripts. The slips are 29.3–29.6 cm long, 0.5–0.7 cm wide, and 0.08–0.09 cm thick. On the back side of each slip the bottom 1–2 mm is scraped away to make a slanted end that exposes the yellow part of the bamboo. Although the binding cords had disintegrated, the distinctive slanted-end and the position of the slips at the time of excavation indicate that the 241 slips formed one manuscript that was rolled so that the beginning was at the center of the bundle.[71] Using the numbering of slips assigned by the modern editors for publication, the original occult miscellany begins with s131–308 and continues with s69–

70 *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu*, 133. Another contemporaneous account of the *guxu* system occurs in the second *rishu* manuscript from Fangmatan 放馬灘 tomb I, Gansu. See *Tianshui Fangmatan Qin jian jishi*, 146–47.

71 *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu*, 154. The excavation report does not state that the slanted bottom end is on the back side of each slip. I am grateful to Peng Hao 彭浩 for personally examining the original bamboo slips and reporting to me the result of his examination (according to Peng Hao, it is no longer easy to see the slanted end on all slips, and in some cases the bottom of the slip is missing).

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130. The slips at the beginning (s131–308) are identified by the modern editors as a miscellany of the *rishu* type; the slips at the end (s69–130) are a calendar for the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh years in the reign of the First Qin August Thearch (211 and 210 BCE). In the published numbering the calendar slips precede the *rishu* slips because of the editors' decision to classify the bamboo slips by main content. They separated the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh year calendar (s69–130) from the *rishu* (s131–308) and arranged it ahead of the *rishu* in a separate category for calendars, where it follows a bamboo-slip calendar for the thirty-fourth year (213 BCE) found in the same basket (s1–68). A third calendar corresponding to the year 209 BCE on a wood tablet found near the basket (the basis for the estimated date of burial) is published with the two bamboo-slip calendars.[72]

To my knowledge the Zhoujiatai occult miscellany is the oldest example of both *rishu* and calendar combined in one manuscript. As evidenced in manuscript discoveries, ancient *rishu* generally detail astro-calendrical and hemerological systems but leave the user to make the correlations with the calendar for the year in question (especially important as regards the stem and branch cycle signs for months and days in a given year, which are necessary for many *rishu* systems). The Zhoujiatai manuscript conveniently includes the calendar for the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh years, and one of the *rishu* systems also identifies five agent correspondences for the thirty-sixth year (s297–302).[73] The rarity of combining *rishu* and calendar may indicate a preference for circulating written knowledge of *rishu* systems in manuscripts that did not become dated with the change of years. Medieval calendars from Dunhuang represent the later development of an almanac format combining the specifics of a calendar year with useful astro-calendrical and hemerological information.[74]

Among ancient *rishu* discovered to date the *rishu* part of the Zhoujiatai occult miscellany is an unusual example. Bamboo slips were first bound with cords to make a smooth surface to receive text and diagrams. A large circular diagram on the upper half of s156–181 correlates stems, branches, agents, spatial directions, and times of day with the celestial ring of twenty-eight *xiu* 宿 'stellar lodges.' The diagram was drawn first, followed by text on either side of the diagram. When copying the text to the right of the diagram – a list of months and the stellar

72 For transcription of the calendars, see *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu*, 93–104; for the *rishu*, see 104–26.

73 *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu*, 125.

74 Kalinowski 2003, 85–211.

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lodges attached to each month according to a fixed astro-calendrical system, beginning with the eighth month at the top of s131 – the copyist ran out of space. For each month heading, one stellar lodge name is written under the month and subsequent stellar lodge names for that month are written on separate slips to the left across the first register of s131–154 (some months have two associated stellar lodges, others have three). For the eighth month, Horn (*jiao* 角) is written on s131 and Gullet (*kang* 亢) is on s132. Twenty-eight slips would have been needed to complete the list in this format on the first register, but there are only twenty-five slips before the circular diagram (s131–155). The copyist chose to stop on s154, recording the sixth month and the stellar lodge Willow (*liu* 柳), then completed the list in a second register beginning back on s131 with the second stellar lodge for the sixth month, Seven Stars (*qixing* 七星), and finishing with the seventh month on s132–134, second register (Fig. 2).

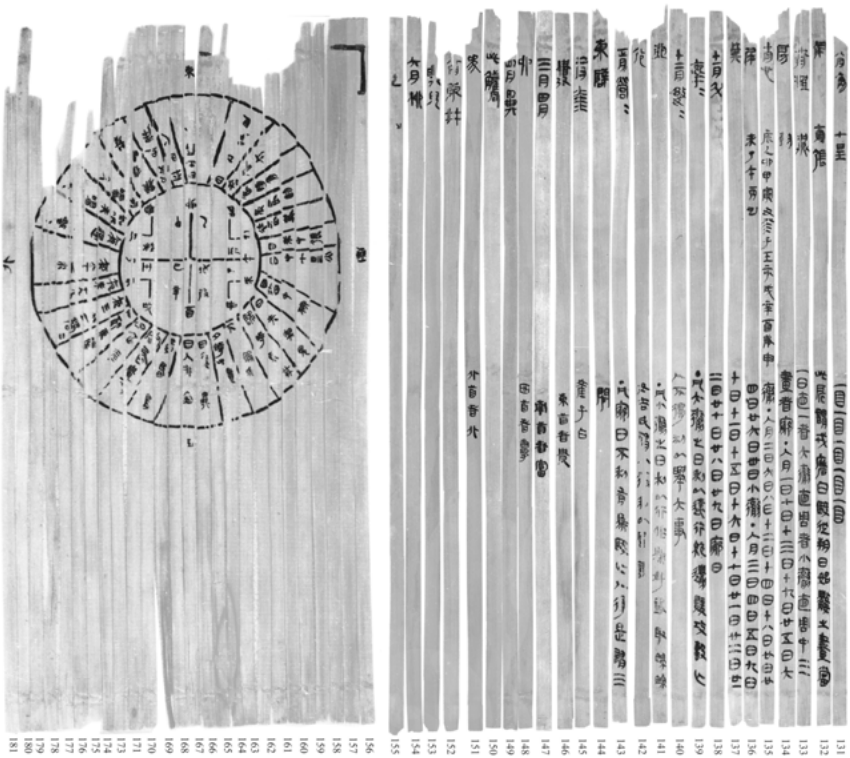

Fig. 2: Zhoujiatai *rishu*, s131–181.

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To the left of the circular diagram, it appears that the copyist left five blank slips (based on the position of the blank slips in the loose stack at the time of excavation), then used the next fifty-six slips (s187–242) to write separate entries on the twenty-eight stellar lodges, each entry occupying two slips.[75] The position of the handle of the Dipper (*dou* 斗, the Big Dipper), which functions as an astro-calendrical pointer, is the key to the interpretation of the diagram and the stellar lodge entries. Each entry concerns predictions for various activities when the Dipper handle is aligned with the stellar lodge. The system is based on a routine calendrical calculation not on observation of the sky; and s243–244 provide the *qiu dou shu* 求斗术 'technique for seeking the Dipper.'[76]

Considering the space it occupies on the manuscript surface, the astro-calendrical system based on months, stellar lodges, and the Dipper handle constitutes the major content of the Zhoujiatai occult miscellany. A hemerological system that occurs twice in the *rishu* part offers further insight into the production of the manuscript. I suspect that the entry on s261–265 was copied in the first stage of manuscript production (Fig. 3). The diagram on s261 shows a column of five rectangles with two lines inside each rectangle and a horizontal line above and below each rectangle. The sum of horizontal lines is thirty (including the top and bottom of each rectangle and the lines inside the rectangles), corresponding to days in the lunar month. Explanation of the system follows in s262–264, with text written down the entire length of the slips rather than in registers. According to the text you count horizontal lines on the s261 diagram always beginning at the top for the first day of any month. When you reach the desired day, the prediction associated with the line in the diagram is the key to the hemerological significance of the corresponding day. The entry concludes on s265 with the statement that the system applies to meeting people and to combat.[77]

The top of s262 is damaged and only the graph *ri* 日 is extant where the name of the hemerological system is written. The name of the related system written in the bottom register of s131–144 is *rong liri* 戎曆日 '*rong* calendar day [divination]' (Fig. 2). The diagram on s131 differs from s261 in two details: each of the five rectangles has three lines inside and there is a horizontal line above each rectangle but not below. The sum of horizontal lines is still thirty, and the procedure of correlating lines with days of the month is the same. More detailed predictions are offered for activities including travel, attacking, capturing people who have

75 *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu*, 110–17.
76 *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu*, 117.
77 *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu*, 121. Harper 2007, 402–403.

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escaped, and marriage.[78] Remarkably, the same diagram as s131 is attested in Dunhuang occult manuscripts and is known as the Zhougong *wugu fa* 周公五鼓法 'method of the five drums of the Sire of Zhou.' The 'method of the five drums' is used to determine the location of lost people and objects based on correlating days of the month with the horizontal lines of the diagram.[79] Except for the diagram there is no evidence of direct correspondences between the two Zhoujiatai *rong liri* hemerological systems and the medieval 'method of the five drums.'

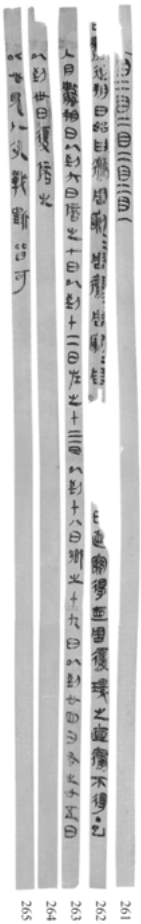

Fig. 3: Zhoujiatai *rishu*, s261–265.

78 *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu*, 120. Harper 2007, 402–403.
79 Kalinowski 2003, 243 and 299.

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Although the occurrence of the *rong liri* hemerological system on s131–144 is at the beginning of the manuscript, it seems to have been added in the blank space below the list of months and stellar lodges in the upper part of s131–154 after the entry on s261–265 was copied. I can offer only conjectures about how this occurred.[80] The entire manuscript is written in neat clerical script (*lishu* 隸書) and appears to be the hand of a single copyist (the possibility of another copyist cannot be eliminated). No doubt the copyist focused initially on the circular diagram and related entries to the right and left of the diagram; the copyist continued to write, moving leftward towards the end of the blank manuscript. At some point – I think after the hemerological system on s261–265 was copied – the copyist decided to use the blank space at the beginning of the manuscript. Whether this was during a one-time process of copying the entire manuscript or whether the copyist worked on the manuscript on several occasions cannot be known. When the copyist used the blank space at the beginning of the manuscript, maximizing the use of all available space on the surface of the bound bamboo-slips was still not an urgent matter. Writing is not crowded onto the slips, and when a briefer entry concerning a hemerological system for the day of childbirth was added at the bottom of s145–148 and s151, the copyist skipped over s149–150 even though the text of the childbirth entry is continuous.[81] Considered together as examples of ancient occult miscellanies belonging to one person (the deceased), the two Zhoujiatai manuscripts provide evidence of different processes of manuscript production in the circulation of written occult knowledge.

Among Dunhuang occult miscellanies P2610 is a rarity for having occult texts on both recto and verso of the paper scroll, written in what appears to be the same hand. The manuscript most likely dates to the 9th or 10th century. I am tempted to think that the copyist was also the compiler, who selected texts of which two have titles attested in medieval bibliographic records.[82] Let me address evidence of the

80 *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu*, 120–21, places transcription of the s131–144 occurrence together with another passage on s145–151(see n. 81) before s261–265 without explanation. Texts arranged in registers on a manuscript, with one text above and another below, pose a problem for transcription. The utilization of space on the surface of a manuscript does not determine the sequence in which the content was read by a reader looking at the manuscript. My speculation addresses the stage of manuscript production rather than reading. Modern transcription necessitates sequential presentation of content. In my judgment the sequence in the *Guanju Qin Han mu jiandu* transcription is not based on careful consideration of the arrangement of texts on the manuscript.

81 For a corresponding entry in Shuihudi *Rishu* B, see *Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian*, 236 (s74–76, second register); and Liu Lexian 1994, 338–39.

82 See Kalinowski 2003, 59–63, for a description of the manuscript.

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manuscript's production before its content. The beginning of the manuscript is missing: the first sheet of paper in the current scroll is damaged and there was at least one more sheet of paper before it in the original scroll. The ten sheets of paper that form the current scroll vary in dimension. The first four sheets and the sixth sheet measure 72.6–73.6 cm wide. The other sheets average half that width, except the tenth sheet which is only 26.3 cm wide.[83] Part of the tenth sheet is blank at the end of the recto, and the first text of the verso begins on the back side of the tenth sheet.

Looking at the scroll as ten sheets of paper glued together clarifies two peculiarities of P2610. Most obvious is the addition of a sheet of paper to the scroll while the copyist was writing on the recto (Fig. 4).[84] At the left edge of the seventh sheet, in a section on wind divination, only the right side of the column of graphs is visible and the missing left side is found at the right edge of the ninth sheet; that is, the column of graphs was originally written over the line where the seventh sheet had been glued to the ninth sheet. The next column on the ninth sheet begins a new section on the *guxu* 'orphan-empty' divination system. Looking closely at the ninth sheet, one sees that the copyist had forgotten to finish copying the text of the wind divination section before copying the 'orphan-empty' section, and then attempted to correct the error by squeezing the missing text into the margins and between columns of the 'orphan-empty' section. Dissatisfied by the result, the copyist took a new sheet of paper – the current eighth sheet – and recopied the entire wind divination section on it. Visible at the right edge of the new, eighth sheet is the left side of a column of graphs that continues the text of the wind divination section where the copyist originally and erroneously stopped, but this effort ends abruptly in the next column over from the right edge after the copyist wrote just three graphs. This marks the point when the copyist decided to use the new sheet to recopy the entire section. When inserting the new, eighth sheet into the scroll, its right edge was glued under the seventh sheet, thus covering the right side of the column of graphs written on the edge.

83 I have consulted the description of P2610 in the unpublished typescript by Hélène Vetch for the dimensions of the sheets of paper.

84 The following account is based on my personal examination of P2610 at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in September 2006.

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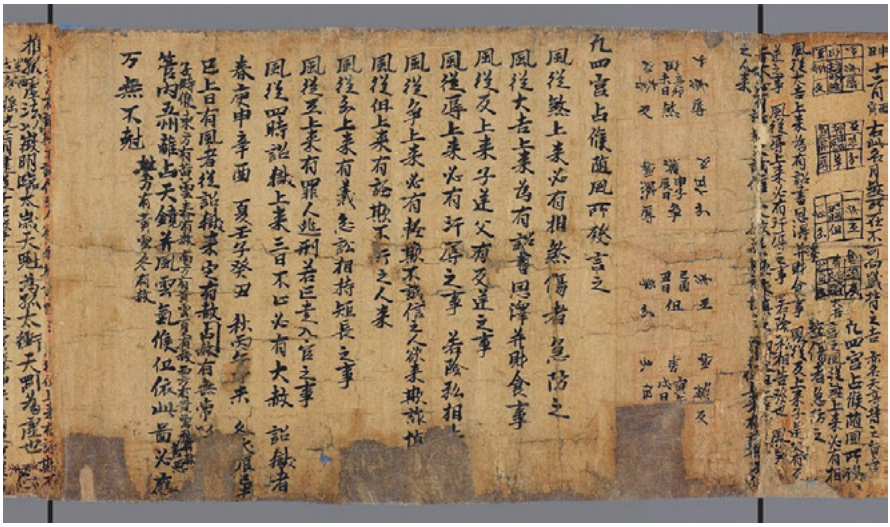

Fig. 4: P2610r◦, eighth sheet of paper (the location of the edges is marked with black lines).

We can surmise the process followed by the copyist, but not the span of time over which it occurred. The arrangement of the four texts that occupy the verso of P2610 supports the assumption that the scroll's recto was copied first, including the insertion of the eighth sheet. Whereas the sequence of texts on the recto is continuous across the width of the scroll, the space occupied by each text on the verso is defined by the sheets of paper and at least one blank sheet follows each text. Numbering the sheets according to their sequence on the recto, the first text on the verso occupies the tenth and ninth sheets and the eighth sheet is blank; the second text occupies the seventh sheet and the sixth sheet is blank; the third text occupies the fifth sheet and the fourth and third sheets are blank; the fourth text occupies the second and first sheets (and is fragmentary due to damage to the first sheet and to the missing sheet or sheets of paper before the first sheet). The content of the four texts is discussed below; here let me note the distinctiveness of the copyist's use of the verso as if the scroll were composed of separate sheets of paper.

Read from beginning to end, recto first and then verso, P2610 exemplifies the variety of written occult knowledge in a medieval manuscript miscellany and provides evidence of the prospective reader's perception of the manuscript as a source of occult knowledge. The content of P2610r◦ treats of phenomena in heaven, earth, and the space in between – with topics such as planetary activities, eclipses, rain, and earthquakes – as well as astro-calendrical and hemerological systems. The

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title *Taishi zazhan li yijuan* 太史雜占歷一卷 (Grand scribe-astrologer's miscellaneous divination calendar, in one scroll) is written in c79, meaning that some if not all passages preceding c79 are from this work. The title is not attested in bibliographic records, but recurs in two Dunhuang manuscripts, P3288r◦ and S2729v◦.[85] Comparison of these manuscripts with P2610r◦ yields a complex pattern of overlapping passages among which it is not certain which are taken from *Taishi zazhan li*, nor is it certain whether *Taishi zazhan li* circulated as an independent work apart from its appearance in occult miscellanies.

All three manuscripts include two passages from *Taishi zazhan li* that address ideas of secrecy and text transmission as understood by medieval readers of occult miscellanies. In P2610r◦, the first passage occurs in c62–65:

> 後有一言非賢不傳讀者如耳之鳴唯獨知矣所以然者為道重人輕秘而勿傳
> Here is a final word – if the person is not worthy do not transmit. Let the reader be as if the sound in the ear is known only to oneself. This is so because the Way is weighty and humans are light. Keep secret and do not transmit.

The 'sound in the ear' is the sound of reading aloud, which the reader should do in a low voice that cannot be overheard. 'Keep secret and do not transmit' (秘而勿傳) is typical of injunctions occurring elsewhere in P2610 and Dunhuang occult miscellanies. As noted above, such injunctions reflect a convention of secrecy in occult literature at a time when the nature of manuscript production already ensured that the literature was well known. The second passage (P2610r◦, c76–78) relates how the ancient culture hero Wu Zixu 伍子胥 (fl. 5th century BCE) – who in medieval times was famous for his occult expertise – acquired occult books from a white-haired old man. The account repeats the theme of secrecy.

Turning to the verso, the first of the four texts on P2610v◦ (c1–64, on the tenth and ninth sheets) is an excerpt of the *Nici zhan* 逆刺占 (Divination by anticipation). The book title is attested in medieval bibliographic records. The title is not written on P2610v◦, but the text corresponds to the final sections of P2859B, one of two Dunhuang manuscript copies of *Nici zhan*, which includes the title as well as the copyist's name (Lü Bianjun 呂弁均, student of *yinyang* studies at the prefectural school in Dunhuang) and is dated 904.[86] The second text (c65–101, on the seventh sheet) is hemerological. The third text (c102–115, on the fifth sheet) contains thirteen recipes for love charms under the heading 'Rang nüzi furen shu bifa' 攘女子婦人述秘法 (Record of secret methods to seize girls and women).[87]

85 S2729v◦, c94 (Kalinowski 2003, 73–76); P3288r◦, c160 (Kalinowski 2003, 66–69).
86 Kalinowski 2003, 447–49.
87 See Liu Lexian 2005 for a study of the love charm text.

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The fourth text (c116–204, on the second and first sheets) is identified in c116 as *Dijing zhong* 地鏡中 (Earth mirror, middle part). A table of contents follows the title in c117–119. The first five section headings are: 'Tianzai zhan diyi' 天災占第一 (Divination of heaven calamities, number 1), 'Dizai dier' 地災第二 (Earth calamities, number 2), 'Yunlei fenghuo zhan disan' 雲雷風火占第三 (Divination of cloud, thunder, wind, and fire, number 3), 'Shan zhan disi' 山占第四 (Divination of mountains, number 4), 'Shui zhan diwu' 水占第五 (Divination of water, number 5). In all, eleven section headings are legible in the table of contents. Additional section headings in the table of contents are illegible and the main text is missing after the fifth section.

A *Dijing* as quoted in *Kaiyuan zhanjing* has been cited above for a textual parallel with the Wangjiatai occult miscellany. *Dijing* quotations occur in fourteen chapters of *Kaiyuan zhanjing*, which is the source of all transmitted fragments of the work.[88] The *Sui shu* bibliographic treatise lists several *jing* 'mirror' works of which only a *Tianjing* 天鏡 (Heaven mirror) in two scrolls was extant in the Sui dynasty (581–618). Among lost Liang dynasty (502–557) works listed in the treatise were a *Dijing*, a *Tianjing*, and a *Riyue jing* 日月鏡 (Sun and moon mirror), each in one scroll.[89] P2610v◦ is our only evidence of a *Dijing* as it occurred in medieval manuscript copies.

Parallels between P2610v◦ and *Dijing* quotations in *Kaiyuan zhanjing* prove the textual connection between the Dunhuang manuscript and the work known to the *Kaiyuan zhanjing* compilers. However, there are as many parallels between P2610v◦ and *Kaiyuan zhanjing* quotations of a *Tianjing*. I suspect that both titles were given to similar collections of occult knowledge; they constituted a type of 'mirror' book that revealed secrets of heaven and earth. Xiao Yi 蕭繹, who reigned as Thearch Yuan of the Liang 梁元帝 (r. 552–555), offered clues to the medieval idea of 'terrestrial mirror' books in the section on occult matters in his *Jinlou zi* 金樓子 (Golden tower master):[90]

> *Dijing jing* 地鏡經 (Earth mirror classic) originates from altogether three experts. There is Shi Kuang *Dijing* 師曠地鏡, there is Baize (White Marsh) *Dijing* 白澤地鏡, and there is *liujia* (six *jia*) *Dijing* 六甲地鏡.

Xiao Yi's specification of three traditions of 'experts' (*jia* 家) was his explanation of 'earth mirrors' in circulation in his day. Curiously, there is no bibliographic confirmation of titles associating either Shi Kuang (the ancient music expert) or

88 *Kaiyuan zhanjing*, 4, 98–99, 100–101, 112–20.
89 *Sui shu*, 34.1038.
90 *Jinlou zi*, 5.24a.

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Baize with 'earth mirror' works (six *jia* is a generic term for occult systems, and also is not attested in the title of an 'earth mirror' work in bibliographic records). However, Shi Kuang was associated with a lost medieval occult book entitled *Shi Kuang zhan* 師曠占 (Shi Kuang's divination)[91] and Baize was the spirit protector associated with the demonography *Baize tu* (White Marsh's diagrams), as exemplified by P2682r◦. Before questioning Xiao Yi's bibliographic accuracy, we should consider how Xiao Yi understood the title *Dijing jing* (Earth mirror classic). Perhaps it was not a book title in the strict sense but rather was a generic label for a type of occult miscellany that included *Baize tu* and *Shi Kuang zhan* along with *Dijing*, *Tianjing*, and other 'mirror' books.

Associating Xiao Yi's account of *Dijing jing* with the P2610v◦ text suggests how medieval readers might have perceived the Dunhuang manuscript copy as a type of occult literature. Similarly, there is logic to linking *Dijing* and the Dunhuang manuscript copy of *Baize tu* (P2682r◦). As evident in the text-only portion at the end of P2682r◦, the content of a *Baize tu* was not exclusively demonic; the mixture of occult knowledge in P2682r◦ includes passages found in other Dunhuang occult miscellanies and in transmitted sources. Like *Dijing*, *Baize tu* provided medieval readers with a textual mirror to illuminate unusual phenomena along with practical information to guide human response. Seen and read as texts copied onto Dunhuang manuscripts, the form and function of *Dijing* and *Baize tu* as occult texts are evident in ways that cannot be appreciated from quotations of fragments in *Kaiyuan zhanjing* or other transmitted sources.

5 Occult knowledge and three medieval works

Two essential characteristics of the continuum of knowledge that I have described as occult but that for the moment it is convenient to identify again as *shushu* 'calculations and arts' were: its transmission from ancient to medieval times as a body of written knowledge in manuscripts; and the simultaneous existence of miscellanies alongside formally composed works authored by or attributed to specialists. There are clear differences between ancient and medieval miscellanies discussed above and the medieval works *Wuxing dayi* (Summation of the five agents; compiled by Xiao Ji), *Yisi zhan* (Yisi-year divination; compiled by Li Chunfeng), and *Kaiyuan zhanjing* (Divination classic of [the reign] Opened Epoch; com-

91 *Sui shu*, 34.1038.

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piled by Qutan Xida and others). The miscellanies reflect everyday habits of manuscript culture in a popular, literate milieu whereas the three transmitted works testify to the stature of the compilers and to their production of masterworks. Compared to the systematically arranged content of the three transmitted works, which bespeaks the intention of the compilers to classify the knowledge in the form of a book, the miscellanies focus on practical aspects of the knowledge rather than on its classification. Yet, the texts themselves arose from a common source: the knowledge set out in writing for readers of miscellanies was the same kind of knowledge associated with ideas about *yinyang* and *wuxing* 'five agents' in books whose titles were listed in bibliographic records, some of which survive as fragments quoted in *Wuxing dayi*, *Yisi zhan*, and *Kaiyuan zhanjing*.

How men such as Xiao Ji, Li Chunfeng, and Qutan Xida regarded the common textual base and how they perceived their place in the formulation of ideas and practices associated with *shushu* has significance for modern studies of ancient and medieval Chinese science. Did they use *yinyang* and five agents ideas as the basis for a theory of nature that marginalized religious and divinatory elements? Given that *shushu* and related terms remained broadly inclusive in medieval usage, how did they demarcate what they accepted and how did they justify its priority? How may we judge their involvement with occult ideas and practices in relation to other intellectual and socio-political commitments?

6 *Wuxing dayi* (Summation of the five agents)

Let us consider each man in turn, beginning with Xiao Ji (d. 614) and *Wuxing dayi*, which he probably compiled in the first decade of the 7th century.[92] A descendant of the ruling Xiao clan of the Liang dynasty (502–557), Xiao Ji's biography in the *Sui shu* 隋書 (Book of Sui) notes his expertise in *yinyang suan shu* 陰陽算術 'arts of *yinyang* and numerical calculation.' With the founding of the Sui dynasty by Thearch Wen 文帝 (r. 581–604), Xiao Ji was given responsibility for collating *yinyang* books (*yinyang shu* 陰陽書) – *yinyang* broadly denoting divination – in the new ruler's grand bibliographic project. The biography attributes six works to him, ranging from topomancy for domiciles and tomb-sites to physiognomy and chiromancy, but does not mention *Wuxing dayi* (nor does the title appear in the

92 For biographical information and the textual history of *Wuxing dayi*, see Kalinowski 1991, 11–32.

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Sui shu bibliographic treatise).[93] Tang dynasty attestation of *Wuxing dayi* confirms Xiao Ji's authorship, but after the Song dynasty there is no record of the work in China. However, *Wuxing dayi* was already in Japan by the 8th century and continued to be transmitted there (a Japanese printed edition served as the basis for its reintroduction to China in a Chinese printed edition of 1804).[94]

Xiao Ji's preface to *Wuxing dayi* details his textual project, which was to restore the classical doctrine of the five agents to its rightful place in human affairs:[95]

> Every time that I have pored over the records of the ancients and examined the standard classics, from the time of Fuxi and Shennong down to the Zhou and Han no one did not take the five agents to be the root of government and take milfoil and turtle divination as the precedent for judgment of good and bad.

According to Xiao Ji, the classical model did not survive the centuries of social and political turmoil following the fall of the Han dynasty, and he decries the low state of knowledge in his day:

> Although the arts of divination and augury are still practiced, all derive from teachings of the sinister way (*zuodao* 左道); the methods of turtle and milfoil divination continue to exist, but no one discerns the intrinsic pattern of the hexagram lines and images.

He further warns of the consequences:

> Not adhering to the monthly ordinances, the seasonal regulations invariably go awry. Missing by a hairsbreadth invariably leads to a thousand-league error. Flood and drought arise and no one knows their source; events of good or ill omen occur and no one knows their significance. Men who do not trust in forms and images, who are reluctant to investigate signs, and who when they observe instances of trickery and delusion deplore those who study them – they are all fixated on the trivial while forgetting the fundamental, and they take issue with the crude while omitting the subtle.

Finally he explains the principle informing the organization of his work:

> I have gathered broadly from the classics (*jing*) and weft-texts (*wei*) and exhaustively searched writings on slips and tablets. The summation is succinctly expressed in altogether twenty-four sections, which are divided and arranged in forty chapters. Twenty-four represents vapor in the calculation of seasonal nodes; the sum of forty is the complete calculation

93 Kalinowski 1991, 12–16.
94 Kalinowski 1991, 19–24.
95 I use the critical edition of *Wuxing dayi* by Nakamura 1998, 2–3. In my translation I have made extensive use of the French translation in Kalinowski 1991, 140–41.

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> of the five agents. Beginning with explanation of the name and concluding with bugs and birds, everything related to the five agents is all contained in this summation.

Xiao Ji notes two tendencies in contemporary society, both misguided in their treatment of five agent ideas (broadly conceived to include divination and other forms of detecting signs in nature). First there are people who practice crude forms of divination – 'teachings of the sinister way' – that deviate from the classical model. Let us assume for the sake of argument that Xiao Ji's scorn is aimed at readers of occult miscellanies who are concerned about mundane matters more than about realizing perfect government in an ordered world. Equally reprehensible are doubters – men 'who are reluctant to investigate signs' and who use cases of fraud as a pretext to deny the validity of five agent ideas and to 'deplore those who study them' (presumably including Xiao Ji). Five agent doctrine, Xiao Ji argues, has a core of truth that is 'fundamental' and 'subtle,' and that can still be known from classics, weft-texts, and other writings. In editing the textual material he arranged it in the form of a microcosm: the twenty-four main sections of the book are its 'seasonal nodes' (the twenty-four divisions of the solar year); the forty chapters into which the twenty-four sections are fitted are its totality, as represented by the sum of the numbers of the five agents (6, 7, 8, 9, 10).[96] The book is the textual realization of an ordered world.

As a classified summation of 'everything related to the five agents,' *Wuxing dayi* asserts the priority of a renewed five agent doctrine whose main object is government. Missing in *Wuxing dayi* are details of practical applications of ideas and systems, either in the social and political sphere, or in astrology, medicine, and divination.[97] Xiao Ji wrote about these details elsewhere in lost books on topomancy, physiognomy, and chiromancy. As a well-known diviner (his biography recounts several occasions when he demonstrated his skill), Xiao Ji wrote as a specialist and presumably expected his books to attract readers in part because of his reputation. The image in the *Wuxing dayi* preface of a man focused more on ideas than on practices needs to be adjusted for Xiao Ji the diviner and author of books that 'doubters' might have dismissed.

The apology for five agent ideas and practices in *Wuxing dayi* was, in fact, already articulated in the 2nd century BCE by Sima Tan 司馬談, grand scribe-astrologer (*taishi* 太史) at the Han court, who formulated the issue as follows:[98]

96 See Kalinowski 1991, 450, n.18.
97 Kalinowski 1991, 42–43.
98 *Shiji*, 130.3289.

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> In my personal observation the arts of *yinyang* are elaborate with prohibitions and avoidances; they cripple people and make them fear many things. However, for arranging in orderly sequence the great succession of the four seasons they are indispensable.

As an official and astrologer, Sima Tan approved of *yinyang* ideas and practices in connection with ordering the world and government, but regarded their popular dissemination and application to everyday life as a problem for maintaining order in society.

Tension between what some regarded as acceptable, government-friendly uses of five agent, *yinyang*, or *shushu* knowledge and the broad popularity of the self-same occult knowledge continued down the centuries. Moreover, ancient and medieval critics linked abuses of the knowledge to the abundance of occult manuscripts: too many written texts were too easily available. When Wang Chong 王充 (27–ca. 100 CE) attacked ideas that he regarded as popular *shushu* superstition, he often quoted passages from written texts which he then refuted, such as *Zangli* 葬歷 (Burial calendar) and *Mushu* 沐書 (Hairwashing book).[99] The problem of abundant written texts is also suggested in the alteration of Sima Tan's statement on *yinyang* arts when quoted by Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445) in the preface to the collected biographies of occult or *fangshu* 方術 'recipes and arts' specialists in the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Book of Later Han). The original statement refers to the 'arts of *yinyang*' that cripple people, which in the *Hou Han shu* becomes the 'books of *yinyang*' (*yinyang zhi shu* 陰陽之書).[100]

A different attitude toward popular *shushu* knowledge is evident in the following account of Wang Jing 王景 (1st century CE), recorded in the collected biographies of *xunli* 循吏 'astute officials' in the *Hou Han shu*:[101]

> (Wang) Jing thought that what was recorded in the Six Classics all partakes of divination; execution of affairs, activity, and repose are rooted in milfoil and turtle. Yet the mass of books was disordered and jumbled; auspicious and inauspicious were mutually reversed. Then he compared and collated the calculation-and-art books of the mass of experts (*zhongjia shushu wenshu* 眾家數術文書) – works on tomb and domicile prohibitions, canopy-and-chassis, day-minister, and the like that were suited for actual use – and compiled them in the *Dayan xuanji* 大衍玄基 (Mysterious foundation of the great proliferation).[102]

99 *Lunheng*, 989 and 993, respectively.
100 *Hou Han shu*, 82A.2705.
101 *Hou Han shu*, 76.2466.
102 *Dayan* 大衍 'great proliferation' refers to the numerology of counting milfoil stalks for divination as recorded in *Zhouyi*, 7.20a–23a ('Xici' 繫辭).

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The *Hou Han shu* also recounts that the young Wang Jing studied the *Yi* (Changes), read broadly in all literature, and was fond of 'heaven patterns and arts and calculations.'[103] As a government official in several regions Wang Jing had a reputation for reform and innovation (including hydraulic projects for flood control on the Yellow River), hence his inclusion among 'astute officials.'[104] We do not know when or where he collected *shushu* books and collated them to compile his own *Dayan xuanji*, which disappeared without leaving a trace in bibliographic records. Wang Jing clearly valued *shushu* knowledge. Given the confused state of local *shushu* texts and the importance of the knowledge in the daily conduct of life, his project became to produce a corrected edition 'suited for actual use' by people. The description of manuscript production offers one scenario of the compilation of ancient and medieval manuscript miscellanies for local use (by readers and the non-readers who relied on them).

Closer to Xiao Ji's lifetime, Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531–591) condemned '*yinyang* teachings' and 'perverse and unorthodox books' (*pianpang zhi shu* 偏傍之書) that spread false knowledge.[105] A second passage in his *Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓 (Mr. Yan's family instructions) is a qualified defense of the 'arts of *yinyang*' which nonetheless attacks books that he once studied (five are identified by title) and concludes:[106]

> Books of arts transmitted in the world all issue from the stream of folkways (*liusu* 流俗). Words and phrases are base and shallow; verification is rare while fraudulence is frequent.

The judgments and invective of Yan Zhitui, Xiao Ji, and others appear stereotyped in their representation of correct use and abuse of *shushu* knowledge. Correct use was defined by the activities of the few who perceived its subtlety and for whom the knowledge was grounded in classics (which might or might not extend to weft-texts) and a limited number of genuine texts; popular use was abuse, which the circulation of fraudulent texts worsened. However, Yan Zhitui admitted studying *yinyang* books that he later repudiated – he once participated in the popular abuse that he disavowed. The admission is instructive for our study of manuscript miscellanies as one part of ancient and medieval *shushu* or occult literature. Yan Zhitui was thoroughly familiar with the popular texts that he dismissed and he knew the role they played in people's lives. Manuscript miscellanies offer us direct attestation of the texts.

103 *Hou Han shu*, 76.2464.
104 For Wang Jing's hydraulic expertise, see Needham 1971, 281 and 346–47.
105 *Yanshi jiaxun*, 2.102–4.
106 *Yanshi jiaxun*, 7.520–21.

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7 *Yisi zhan* (Yisi-year divination) and *Kaiyuan zhanjing* (Divination classic of [the reign] Opened Epoch)

There are broad similarities between the lives of Li Chunfeng and Qutan Xida and between their books. Both men had successful careers at the Tang court and held positions in the bureau of the grand scribe-astrologer. Li Chunfeng composed treatises on heaven patterns, calendrics, and the five agents for histories commissioned by Taizong 太宗 (r. 627–649).[107] *Yisi zhan* was most likely completed in 645, which corresponds to a *yisi* 乙巳 year in the sexagenary cycle.[108] The book is listed in Tang and Song bibliographic records, but after the Song *Yisi zhan* disappeared until suddenly reappearing in the 17th century. Modern editions are based on Lu Xinyuan's 陸心源 1877 woodblock printing of a manuscript in his possession.[109] Compilation of *Kaiyuan zhanjing* was ordered by Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 713–755), with Qutan Xida at the head of experts from the bureau of the grand scribe-astrologer. Work on the book may have begun as early as 714 and was completed before 724; the title derives from Xuanzong's reign era Kaiyuan (Opened epoch; 713–741). Like *Yisi zhan*, *Kaiyuan zhanjing* is listed in Tang and Song bibliographic records, and disappeared after the Song until 1616 when Cheng Mingshan 程明善 discovered a manuscript copy in the abdomen of a statue of the Buddha that he was restoring.[110]

Whereas *Wuxing dayi* is organized mainly by *yinyang* and five agent systems – with emphasis on correlations with stems, branches, and the sexagenary cycle and on their application to heaven, earth, and humankind –*Yisi zhan* and *Kaiyuan zhanjing* treat categories of phenomena, beginning with heaven, sun and moon, planets, constellations, and unusual celestial phenomena including comets, wind, and rain. There are accounts of cosmology and the structure of heaven that quote otherwise lost ancient and medieval texts; texts adduced under specific phenomena focus on the significance for divination. *Kaiyuan zhanjing* is the larger book – 120 chapters in the transmitted text – and quotes more sources by

107 See Chen Meidong 2003, 350–52, for a summary of main events in Li Chunfeng's life based on the *Jiu Tang shu* and *Xin Tang shu*.

108 See Chen Meidong 2003, 351.

109 *Jiu Tang shu*, 47.2037; *Xin Tang shu*, 59.1544. See Lu's preface to *Yisi zhan*, 1a, for 17th century bibliographic notices.

110 *Xin Tang shu*, 59.1545; *Song shi*, 206.5234. For details of the Ming rediscovery, see Chen Meidong 2003, 361.

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title on a broader range of topics (for example, demonology, weird domestic phenomena, and divination systems for wild and domestic animals). *Kaiyuan zhanjing* is the most important source of textual fragments from lost *shushu* books, and quotations of lost *chenwei* 'prophecy and weft-texts' attest to the amount of occult knowledge that was transmitted in them.[111]

Yisi zhan is more compact – 100 sections in ten chapters in the transmitted text – and more focused on astrology and associated forms of divination. Li Chunfeng's views on *shushu* specialists and their writings are presented in the preface and again at the beginning of section 3. The preface also explains his idea for *Yisi zhan*:[112]

> I have not considered trivial learning when collecting their records. (The passages) are gathered by category and arranged in sequence to form a book. I have selected the choicest blooms and eliminated what is superfluous and false. I have done no more than to find the mean between small and large, beginning with heavenly images and concluding with wind and vapor. There are ten chapters altogether, on which the title *Yisi* has been conferred.

The classification scheme of the book by chapter is: chapter 1, heaven and sun (sections 1–6); chapter 2, moon (sections 7–14); chapter 3, principles of astrology (sections 15–21); chapter 4, five planets (sections 22–27); chapter 5, Mars and Saturn (sections 28–33); chapter 6, Venus and Mercury (sections 34–39); chapter 7, 'flowing stars' and 'guest stars' (sections 40–46); chapter 8, comets and meteoromancy (sections 47–52); chapter 9, meteoromancy (sections 53–67); chapter 10, wind divination (sections 68–100).

Li Chunfeng's statement in section 3, 'Tianzhan' 天占 (Heaven divination), provides more information about his use of text sources in compiling *Yisi zhan*:[113]

> After *Yellow Thearch Divination* (Huangdi zhan 黄帝占) and moving down to the several tens of experts, some among them are genuine and some false. They cannot all be followed. In composing the sections I have judiciously selected those whose reasoning is proper and have eliminated the others or placed them in a lower position. Also included are passages from classics and their ancilla as well as from texts of the masters and histories. So long as they are relevant and evince acceptable reasoning, I do not reject them. Let me record now the list of old divination books so as to acknowledge the men (who produced them). After I commence the divination sections I no longer fully cite their names. I would not dare to conceal them. My reason is simply that these are (works) I recited by rote in my youth; which came first and which after is jumbled so that I fear mistaking the correct original.

111 see above, 320.
112 *Yisi zhan* , Li preface, 4a.
113 *Yisi zhan*, 1.10b–11a.

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Titles of twenty-seven books follow, including eight *wei* 'weft-texts.' These books were hardly the whole of available *shushu* literature with astrological content, but they were significant to Li Chunfeng because as a youth he 'recited them by rote.' Li Chunfeng would have the reader believe that when compiling *Yisi zhan* he relied on his memory of their content, and that fear of misattribution (because the books and content were jumbled in his mind) made him refrain from identifying the sources that he quoted. I doubt that Li Chunfeng compiled his book from memory without reference to written texts. He chose to omit regular citation of text sources by title not, I suspect, because of a faulty memory but rather because of the nature of *shushu* literature. As we have seen with manuscript miscellanies, overlapping content was common across the many manuscripts in circulation. When several books record the same words concerning a phenomenon such as an eclipse of the sun, who is to say which is the 'correct original' text? In compiling *Yisi zhan* Li Chunfeng probably collated sources containing identical passages, and the wording recorded in *Yisi zhan* represents an editorial decision without passing judgment on 'which came first and which after.'

Dunhuang manuscripts corroborate the authenticity of parts of the transmitted text of *Yisi zhan* and demonstrate that writings attributed to Li Chunfeng were readily available in Dunhuang in the 9th and 10th centuries. P2632r◦ is a fragmentary scroll (the beginning is missing), but the colophon at the end of the occult miscellany records the title *Shou jue yijuan* 手決一卷 (Handbook in one scroll) and gives a copy date corresponding to 872 (c216–217).[114] From c107–215 there are numerous text parallels with the transmitted *Yisi zhan* – some but not all attributed to Li Chunfeng – in sections on sun and moon divination and wind divination. *Yisi zhan* is not named in the manuscript, but the compiler or copyist appears to have relied on *Yisi zhan* for the passages quoted.[115]

P2536v◦ and S2669v◦ contain text corresponding to whole *Yisi zhan* sections.[116] P2536v◦ is a fragment with twenty-eight columns of text from the end of

114 See Kalinowski 2003, 63–65, for a description of the manuscript.

115 P2632r◦ passages that cite Li Chunfeng, with *Yisi zhan* parallel in parentheses are: c112 (*Yisi zhan*, section 5, 1.24b); c113 (*Yisi zhan*, section 5, 1.24b); c153 (*Yisi zhan*, section 100, 10.56a); c159 (*Yisi zhan*, section 68, 10.3b); c162 (*Yisi zhan*, section 69, 10.6a); c188 (*Yisi zhan*, section 82, 10.32a); c193 (*Yisi zhan*, section 84, 10.37a–b). I have not located the *Yisi zhan* passage corresponding to c189. P2632r◦ text parallels that do not cite Li Chunfeng are: c143–153 (*Yisi zhan*, section 78, 10.18a–19a); c166 (*Yisi zhan*, section 69, 10.6b); c166 (*Yisi zhan*, section 69, 10.6b); c168 (*Yisi zhan*, section 84, 10.38a); c169 (*Yisi zhan*, section 69, 10.4b–5a); c175 (*Yisi zhan*, section 69, 10.5a); c193 (*Yisi zhan*, section 84, 10.37a–b). Huang Zhengjian 2001, 47 and 50, notes the probable relationship between the manuscript and *Yisi zhan*.

116 See Kalinowski (2003), 58–59 and 72–73, for descriptions of the manuscripts.

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the original scroll; a copy date corresponding to 924 is recorded at the bottom of c28. There is no title. While the content of the sections in the manuscript correspond to *Yisi zhan* sections, the section numbering is different. We cannot be certain that the content of the original manuscript was a copy of *Yisi zhan*. Perhaps the section numbering in the manuscript was devised by the compiler or copyist and applied to passages from *Yisi zhan* as well as from other texts that might have been included. Another possibility, given the *Yisi zhan*'s uncertain transmission prior to its reappearance in the 17th century, is that the arrangement and numbering of sections in the transmitted *Yisi zhan* are different from *Yisi zhan* manuscripts in circulation during the Tang. A third arrangement and numbering of sections is used in the seventeen columns of text in the 2669v◦ fragment.

Two more manuscripts attest to Li Chunfeng's presence in *shushu* literature available in Dunhuang. S3326 includes one text on cloud divination with drawings of clouds and explanations; one of the explanations is introduced with 'servant Chunfeng states' (*chen* Chunfeng *yue* 臣淳風曰), and Li Chunfeng is the probable referent.[117] P3865, on domicile topomancy, lists books consulted by the compiler, including *Li Chunfeng zhaijing* 李淳風宅經 (Li Chunfeng's domicile classic).[118] Dunhuang manuscripts indicate that Li Chunfeng and his writings achieved celebrity status in the popular mind following his lifetime. The manuscripts are also prima facie evidence that the Tang court's wish to prevent the circulation of *shushu* literature (prohibitions are documented in historical sources) was ineffective – even writings by contemporary *shushu* experts in the Tang court circulated among a general readership.[119]

8 Conclusion

Written texts are the basis of history; our knowledge of ancient and medieval China is in direct correspondence with textual evidence. My idea in this article, however, is not to write history with texts but rather to realize the function of manuscripts and texts in the lives of their compilers, copyists, and readers. An-

117 Kalinowski 2003, 76, proposes that Li Chunfeng was the compiler. Huang Zhengjian 2001, 51, argues that the text was compiled after Li Chunfeng's lifetime, and that reference to 'servant Chunfeng' indicates that Li Chunfeng was one among several divination specialists quoted in the manuscript.

118 Kalinowski 2003, 595–96.

119 See Kalinowski 2003, 44 and 50–55, for discussion of this issue.

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cient and medieval occult miscellanies are ideal textual artifacts for analysis because a manuscript miscellany existed to fulfill readers' real and perceived needs in daily life (borrowing Wang Jing's words it was 'suited for actual use'). Incentive to produce manuscripts and reader demand were twin forces that shaped *shushu* or occult knowledge and situated it within manuscript culture. Circulation of texts and knowledge occurred by means of occult miscellanies that went unnoticed at the level of bibliographic records with their classification schemes, but that were remarkably effective in perpetuating ideas and practices across centuries – as demonstrated by manuscripts available to us since the 20th century.

Inclusion of the manuscripts among the sources for the history of Chinese science allows us to situate the transmitted sources within ancient and medieval manuscript culture, to see the relationship of popular occult miscellanies to the works of a few prominent men, and to reconsider how ancient and medieval perceptions of *shushu* knowledge correlate with the categories science or natural philosophy in modern studies. At the level of individual passages, Dunhuang occult miscellanies read like parts of *Wuxing dayi*, *Yisi zhan*, or *Kaiyuan zhanjing*, and at times are verifiably the same text. Xiao Ji and Li Chunfeng criticized the mingling of false knowledge with genuine knowledge in *shushu* literature, and they saw themselves as custodians of genuine knowledge when compiling their own works. As phrased by Li Chunfeng: 'I have judiciously selected those whose reasoning is proper and have eliminated the others or placed them in a lower position. . . . So long as they are relevant and evince acceptable reasoning, I do not reject them.'

Based on their writings, neither Xiao Ji nor Li Chunfeng defined a separate field of knowledge to distinguish between science or natural philosophy and ideas associated with *shushu*, which embraced magic, religion, divination, and politics. Marc Kalinowski's comparison of five agent doctrine to hermetic traditions in the Mediterranean world is apt:[120]

> S'il fallait trouver un équivalent à la doctrine des cinq agents dans le monde méditerranéen, il faudrait plutôt chercher du côté des traditions hermétiques grecques et latines, principalement dans l'astrologie dont l'importance au sein de ces traditions n'a cessé de croître durant la période hellénistique et sous l'empire. A l'instar du système astrologique en Occident, la doctrine des cinq agents a mûri au contact des conceptions religieuses, philosophiques et scientifiques de la fin des Royaumes Combattants et des Han antérieurs. Débordant le contexte des pratiques divinatoires, elle a très vite atteint un degré de généralité suffisant pour servir de cadre conceptuel à toute activité. La réduire à un système de

120 Kalinowski 1991, 47.

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philosophie naturelle ne rend pas compte de l'extrême diversité des éléments qui la composent et de ses multiples applications dans le domaine de l'investigation des choses en général, mais aussi dans celui de la politique, de la religion et des arts.

The amount of *shushu* literature as well as its popularity and wide circulation are points of difference with hermetic traditions. Like hermetic traditions, *shushu* knowledge constituted a body of ideas and practices that encompassed natural philosophy and occult thought while simultaneously informing people's experience of life. As Kalinowski states, the knowledge attained 'un degré de généralité suffisant pour servir de cadre conceptuel à toute activité.' Xiao Ji, Li Chunfeng, and Qutan Xida participated in the world of ideas associated with *shushu* and in the manuscript culture that fostered it. While one might argue that their careers and writings warrant special consideration in modern studies of ancient and medieval Chinese science, their accomplishments are best appreciated with all evidence brought forward, including occult miscellanies.[121]

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121 I do not concur with Needham's repeated characterization of Li Chunfeng as a foremost medieval mathematician (for example, Needham 1959, 38) nor with Nakayama's judgment that the *Wuxing dayi* 'represents the highest achievement of Chinese natural philosophy' (Nakayama 1969, 59).

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Imre Galambos

Composite Manuscripts in Medieval China: The Case of Scroll P.3720 from Dunhuang

1 Introduction

Manuscript Pelliot chinois 3720 (hereafter: P.3720) at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) is a Chinese scroll from the Dunhuang 敦煌 cave library discovered at the beginning of the 20th century. It is a collation of different texts, including appointment decrees, religious poetry, a funerary inscription, a short record of the history of the Mogao caves 莫高窟, etc. The texts come from distinct sources, and some had been written at different times by different persons as separate manuscripts, before they were all joined together into a single scroll. Thus the manuscript is also a composite object physically, consisting of separate pieces of paper glued together sometime during the 10th century. While the individual texts have been successfully used by scholars as primary sources for information about the history of Dunhuang and the cave complex at Mogao, it is clear that in order to fully understand the motivation behind the creation of the scroll, the arrangement of the individual components (i.e. sheets of paper) and texts must also be examined. A remarkable aspect of the arrangement is that some of the texts are dated and the dates range from 851 to 938, with an 87-year gap between the earliest and latest ones. The present study is an attempt to enhance our understanding of the date, authorship and composition of this manuscript, and at the same time also shed light on the practice of creating such composite scrolls in medieval China.

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2 Medieval scrolls from Dunhuang

The term 'Dunhuang manuscripts' refers to the tens of thousands of manuscripts discovered around the turn of the 20th century in a hidden niche at the Buddhist cave temple complex at the Mogao caves, also known as the Thousand Buddha Caves. The Mogao caves are located near the town of Dunhuang in Northwestern China, what used to be the Chinese frontier in historical times. The discovery of the manuscripts is generally attributed to Abbot Wang 王道士, a Taoist monk who lived at the temple complex and acted as the site's voluntary caretaker.[1] According to contemporary records, in the summer of 1900 he hired local workmen to remove the sand which blocked the entrance to some caves and one of the workers, after having cleared the entrance corridor to the cave known today as Cave 16, noticed cracks in the northern wall of the corridor. Behind the mural that covered the wall, a small cave was found, filled to the ceiling with manuscripts and paintings.[2] Still, in the internal turmoil of the last years of the Qing dynasty, the cave library remained relatively unknown until the arrival, seven years later, of Hungarian-born British archaeologist M. Aurel Stein (1862–1943) who managed to persuade Abbot Wang to part with a substantial amount of Chinese, Tibetan and other manuscripts in exchange for a donation towards the restoration of the caves. As the news of the discovery travelled, several other foreign explorers visited the caves and left with significant collections of manuscripts.[3] Eventually, Chinese authorities issued an order for the transport of the remaining material to the capital and managed to deposit a sizeable collection at the Metropolitan Library. Nevertheless, Abbot Wang seems to have held some of the manuscripts back as he was still able to subsequently sell a considerable number to Japanese and Russian explorers.[4] The largest collections of Dunhuang manuscripts today are in the British Library in London (Stein collection), the BnF in Paris (Pelliot collection) and the National Library of China in Beijing.

1 Abbot Wang's secular name was Wang Yuanlu 王圓籙, although, as Rong Xinjiang 榮新江 points out, Yuanlu 圓籙 also has the appearance of a monastic name. Rong (2013, 81) suggests that this may have been out of a desire to conceal his original name after coming to Mogao.

2 For a general introduction to the discovery of the cave, see van Schaik and Galambos 2012, 13–14.

3 Stein's encounters with Abbot Wang are described in his *Ruins of Desert Cathay* (Stein 1921, vol. II, 172).

4 On the Japanese acquisition of Dunhuang manuscripts, see Galambos 2008; on the Russian expedition to Dunhuang, see Popova 2008.

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Because of the scattered nature of the material, the exact number of Chinese manuscripts originally present in the library cave is still unclear. Some scholars estimate the total number of existing items to be close to fifty thousand.[5] Yet this is only the number of Chinese manuscripts, whereas the library also included material in a dozen and a half other languages, including Tibetan, Uighur, Sanskrit, Khotanese and Sogdian. Next to Chinese texts, Tibetan ones were the second most numerous, which aptly demonstrates the influence of Tibetan culture in this region.[6] The contents of the material are also extremely diverse, ranging from Buddhist sutras and commentaries to popular literature, official correspondence and administrative documents. Based on dated colophons, the time span for the entire collection is estimated to range from the late 4th to the early 11th centuries, although the bulk of the material appears to come from the 9th–10th centuries.

The quintessential book form of Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang is the scroll. Even though there are a number of other forms (e.g. concertina, butterfly, whirlwind, notebook) which have greatly contributed to our understanding of the history of the book in China, the scrolls are the most numerous in the collection. The scroll is also the form which remained, until at least the widespread use of printing, the dominant one in China proper, where the influence of other literate cultures, such as Tibetan, Uighur or Khotanese, was less prominent than in the northwestern peripheries where Dunhuang was located. From an evolutionary point of view, it is reasonable to assume that the scroll derives from the bamboo or wood roll used in early China, which consisted of narrow slips tied together with two or three cords, rolled up for convenient storage. Yet by the late 4th century when paper manuscripts appeared in Dunhuang, the scroll had already developed into a fully mature book form and was used extensively for recording Chinese texts.

The scroll form is epitomized by the standard Buddhist sutra scroll. In terms of its structure, it is glued together from rectangular sheets of paper into a long strip of writing surface which, depending on the length of the text written on it, could be up to several metres long. Naturally, there was a physical limit to how long a scroll could be. While there are examples that are over ten metre long, the majority of scrolls in the Dunhuang collection is under five metres. An interesting

5 This, of course, depends on what counts as a manuscript. While the term 'item' is used in library catalogues, it also includes fragments, even ones that only contain a single character, and these cannot be counted on a par with long scrolls that have thousands of characters.

6 On the original number of the Tibetan manuscripts in the Dunhuang library cave, see Sam van Schaik's blog entry at <http://earlytibet.com/about/whereabouts/>, as well as his earlier article on those that remain in China today (van Schaik 2002).

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phenomenon in this respect is that while shorter texts could fit on a single scroll and thus be self-contained both textually and codicologically, longer sutras (e.g. *Lotus sūtra*) were typically copied by *juan* 卷 (roll; 'fascicle').[7] We get the impression that such longer sutras almost never circulated in their full form and even complete sets commonly consist of scrolls copied at different places and different times.

As the text is written on a scroll in vertical rows, going from right to left, the first sheet is the rightmost one. The second one is glued onto it using an approximately 1 cm wide overlap, in a way that its right side is placed underneath the left edge of the previous sheet. New sheets are added in a similar fashion, depending on the length of the scroll (Fig. 1).[8] Many complete scrolls have at their end a wooden stave to provide support when the scroll is rolled up. In general, the scroll is rolled up from the left end and this way when the reader unrolls the manuscript from the right, he starts reading the beginning of the text. As he goes on, the parts already read are also rolled up in an opposite direction and only the part in use at that moment remains flat and visible.

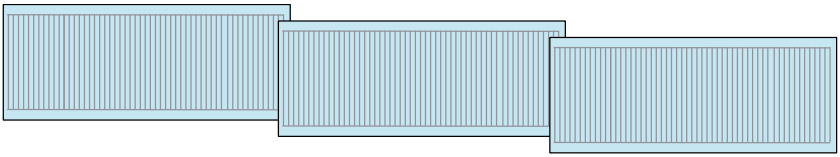

Fig. 1: Composition of a scroll, glued together from separate sheets of ruled paper.

7 The term *juan* (literally: roll; 'fascicle') in the Chinese bibliographic tradition is in fact the same word used for referring to 'scroll', indicating that the concept of *juan* derives from how texts circulated in medieval and earlier times. In Buddhist texts, which represent by far the most common type of writing in the Dunhuang corpus, there is a distinction between 'chapter' (*pin* 品) and 'fascicle' (*juan*). While many texts are divided in a way that chapters and fascicles coincide, there are also cases when a fascicle (which is inevitably the larger unit) contains more than one chapter. This somewhat fuzzy boundary between the two units also points to their different origin: the fascicle used to be a codicological unit, and the chapter a textual one (see Kalinowski 2005). Accordingly, chapters were present in Buddhist texts before those were translated into Chinese, whereas fascicles were a specifically Chinese division introduced only in the Chinese versions which circulated as scrolls.

8 Scrolls for Buddhist manuscripts were prepared in a very similar way in Japan where this process is significantly better documented than in the case of medieval China. For a concise overview of the surprisingly regularized process of creating scrolls in Nara Japan, see Lowe 2011, 25–30.

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Before writing on them, the sheets are usually ruled. There are only two horizontal gridlines, one at the top of the page, the other at the bottom, and these two demarcate the top and bottom margins. There are no side margins, as the paper sheets are glued together in a way that the text seamlessly continues from one sheet to the next.[9] Only at the beginning and the end of the scroll may we see margins. This shows that the individual sheets do not function as 'pages' but, once glued together, they stop being structural elements.[10] Instead, the basic unit of layout becomes the complete scroll. Vertical ruling runs between the top and bottom horizontal gridlines, forming vertical columns about 1.5–2 cm wide. The characters are written in these columns. In the standard sutra form, there are 17 characters per line and 27–29 lines per sheet. Although each line has the same number of characters and the size of characters is roughly the same, no attention is paid to the horizontal alignment of the characters.[11]

Naturally, in a vast corpus the size of the original holdings of the Dunhuang library cave, many scrolls did not follow this standard sutra form, which was used for manuscripts that were intended to be part of an official collection of a monastic library. Other sutras can vary greatly in the number of characters per line, number of lines per sheet, width of margins, or size of sheets. Nevertheless, these differences mainly pertain to particular measurements, while the overall composition of the scroll remains the same. A scroll invariably consists of sheets of paper glued together and rolled up into a tube-like form. Many of the actual scrolls found in Dunhuang, however, are composed of smaller pieces of manuscripts glued together into a single object by a subsequent compiler. The pieces may have different origins and could have been written years apart, even though they ended up as parts of a single scroll. An example of such a composite scroll is manuscript IOL Tib J 754 which was glued together from three different manuscripts

9 In fact, the sheets are often glued together with such accuracy that the joins are not detectable in a photograph and one has to examine the manuscript in person in order to be able to see them.

10 This arrangement, once again, points to the evolution of the scroll form from the earlier bamboo or wood rolls, which contained no pages and the codicological unit immediately below the roll was the slip. In the medieval paper scrolls, the equivalent of the slip would be the vertical line which, in this new context, is physically no longer separate. I use the term 'line' do designate a row of text, even if it runs vertically, as it is the norm in English language scholarship on Dunhuang. French scholars, whether writing in French or English, prefer to use the word 'colonne' [column] to reflect the fact that the text goes in vertical direction.

11 An exception from this rule are the gathas and other kinds of stanzas within the text which are generally grouped together into segmented clusters of characters and because of their more structured nature they are also aligned horizontally.

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mainly written in Chinese and Tibetan.[12] It also contained letters of passage for a Chinese pilgrim travelling through Amdo and Hexi on his way to India, and it is likely that the he carried the scroll with him as he moved from one monastery to the other.

Accordingly, hundreds of scrolls among those discovered in the Dunhuang library cave are second or third generation manuscripts that have been re-used to create new manuscripts for new purposes.[13] In addition, many of them are fragmentary and one may run the risk of making assumptions on the basis of the surviving part that may not hold true for the original item. For example, manuscript Pelliot chinois 2492 is a notebook which contains a series of poems of the illustrious Tang poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846). Although physically not a composite object, it is a manuscript holding multiple texts copied together into an anthology-type arrangement.[14] Based on the Bai Juyi poems, the notebook was named by the eminent Chinese scholar Wang Zhongmin 王重民 (1903–1975) *Bai Xiangshan shiji* 白香山詩集 (Collection of poems by Bai Xiangshan [i.e. Bai Juyi]). It seemed that this was one of the rare instances of a single-author collection, perhaps compiled by the author himself. About four decades later, however, scholars discovered in the Russian collection of Dunhuang manuscripts a loose page that had been separated from the original notebook. This missing page connects to the last Bai Juyi poem from the end of the notebook in Paris but then continues with two poems by other Tang poets, thereby proving that the notebook in its original format was not a collection of Bai Juyi's poem, and was certainly not compiled into an anthology by the poet himself. Instead, it was simply an anthology of Tang poetry.[15] This example shows that we should be careful when making assumptions about medieval collections and anthologies, especially when they are incomplete.

12 For a book-length study of this manuscript, see van Schaik and Galambos 2012. The manuscript with the Tibetan letters also had a Sanskrit dhāraṇī written in Chinese characters and some Chinese transcriptions of Tibetan names and titles.

13 Stephen Teiser (2012, 253) also makes this point when discussing the codicological forms of liturgical texts. As an example, he mentions scroll S.4537 which consists of four sheets of paper, all of different size and written by different hands.

14 This format of copying one text after the other was also common in Buddhist practice, where the *Guanshiyin jing* 觀世音經 and other popular sutras were routinely copied in succession. The modern Japanese term for such multiple-text manuscripts (MTM) is *renshakyō* 連寫經, or 'chain sutras.' See Mollier 2008, 16, where this is described as a common practice in the case of apocryphal sutras.

15 For this fascinating story, see Rong 2013, 389–391.

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3 Wuzhen and his mission

Manuscript P.3720 from the Pelliot collection at the BnF is one of the scrolls from the library cave at the Mogao caves near Dunhuang. The scroll contains an array of different texts, many of which can be associated with Wuzhen 悟真 (816?–895; secular surname: Tang 唐), a celebrated monk from Dunhuang who in 850 led a mission to Chang'an 長安, the capital of the Tang empire.[16] Dunhuang was a thriving cosmopolitan town in Northwestern China, one of the last Chinese outposts on the Silk Road. Until the second half of the 8th century it was part of the Tang domain but, following a series of internal troubles within the empire, control over the northwestern peripheries weakened and large Central Asian territories were lost to the rapidly growing Tibetan empire. Dunhuang fell in 786 and was under Tibetan control until 848 when a local Chinese warlord called Zhang Yichao 張議潮 (d. 872) revolted and drove the Tibetans out.[17] He then set up his own government, acting as a *de facto* king over Dunhuang which remained cut off from Central China and functioned as an independent Chinese kingdom. Taking advantage of the weakening presence of Tibetans, Zhang soon extended his rule to the prefectures of Guazhou 瓜州, Ganzhou 甘州 and Yizhou 伊州. Among the first steps to stabilize his position, he sent envoys to Chang'an to establish contact with the Tang court and offer his allegiance. The mission was headed by the local monk Wuzhen, a disciple of Hongbian 洪辯 (d. 868), the region's highest ranking cleric.

That Zhang Yichao sent Buddhist monks to Chang'an, rather than a group of high officials, is no doubt related to the Huichang 會昌 persecution of Buddhism (845–846) that had swept through the Tang realm five years prior to Hongbian's journey. In the views of many, this was the single most destructive event in the history of Buddhism. Tens of thousands of monasteries were destroyed, monastic property was confiscated and wrecked, and monks and nuns were forcibly returned to lay life. Although the measures were promptly reversed in 846 after the death of Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 840–846), the damage caused to the Buddhist establishment throughout the empire was unprecedented. Dunhuang, however, was physically separate from the Tang and during the Huichang persecution was still under Tibetan control. It is not clear how 'foreign' or offensive the population

16 For a detailed description of Wuzhen's life and the works he authored, see Chen Tzu-lung's monograph on him (Chen 1996).

17 The dates of the Tibetan rule over Dunhuang are not definite and there are also other opinions. Che Wei-hiang 1983 believes that the correct dates are from 781 to ca. 850.

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of Dunhuang perceived the Tibetan rule but it is certain that the Tibetans were enthusiastic supporters of Buddhism and went out of their way not to cause any damage in this respect. In fact, when they took Dunhuang in 786, they made the city submit after a decade of siege, not wanting to apply force and destroy this holy seat of Buddhism.[18] By the time Zhang Yichao wrested control from the Tibetans, the persecution of Buddhism in China proper also ended and with it began a time of great Buddhist revival. Based on Dunhuang's reputation as a holy city at the gates to the Western Regions, with a long history of religious devotion, Wuzhen's mission was able to reintroduce some orthodox doctrines from an old and continuous monastic community that survived the persecution unscathed.

Transmitted sources about Wuzhen's mission to Chang'an are scarce. In a Song dynasty chronicle we read that during his sojourn in Chang'an, 'Wuzhen from Shazhou 沙州 (i.e. Dunhuang) who arrived in the capital to pay homage', was awarded, along with other eminent monks, the 'purple robe', the highest imperially-sanctioned award.[19] As the ultimate pledge of allegiance, Zhang Yichao also sent his younger brother Zhang Yitan 張議潭 to the court to present maps of the newly conquered territories. In effect, Zhang Yitan went to live in Chang'an as a princely hostage, and in response to this Emperor Xuanzong 宣宗 (r. 846–859) established the Guiyijun 歸義軍 (Return to Allegiance Army) governorship and appointed Zhang Yichao its Military Commissioner (*jiedushi* 節度使). This began the Guiyijun period in Dunhuang history that lasted nearly two hundred years. When after twenty-two years of residing in Chang'an, Zhang Yitan died in 872, Zhang Yichao was summoned to the Tang court in person. In his absence, and following his own death in Chang'an later the same year, his nephew Zhang Huaishen 張淮深 (831–890) took over the rule of the Guiyijun. In the end, the Zhang family's rule of Dunhuang outlived the Tang dynasty and lasted until 914 when Cao Yijin 曹議金 came to power and his family remained in power until the Tangut conquest.[20]

Despite its formal allegiance to the Tang court, the Guiyijun was an independent state and its rulers reigned as kings, maintaining diplomatic contacts with other Central Asian states, such as Khotan or the Ganzhou and Xizhou Uighurs. Both the *Jiu Wudaishi* 舊五代史 ('Old History of the Five Dynasties') and

18 Rong 2013, 70.

19 Zanning 贊寧, *Da Song seng shilüe* 大宋僧史略 (T2126, 54:249a08–10).

20 Although the Cao claimed descent from the prominent Cao clan in Central China, it is possible that they were actually of Sogdian descent; see Rong 2001 and Chen 2001. For a general overview of Sogdians in Northwestern China during the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods, see Étienne de la Vaissière 2005, 306–326.

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the *Xin Wudaishi* 新五代史 ('New History of the Five Dynasties') discusses the Guiyijun in the treatise on Tibetans, whereas the *Songshi* 宋史 ('History of the Song dynasty') includes it in the treatise on foreign countries.[21] In reality, the Tang court watched the growth of the Guiyijun power with concern because, while being sympathetic with the idea of weakening the Tibetan domination over Central Asia, they were all too aware of the possibility that it might 'turn into another Tibet.'[22] At the same time, Tang support and official acknowledgment was an important source of legitimacy for Guiyijun rulers in an effort to solidify their position both against the Tibetans and internally. It was doubtless more prestigious to be appointed military commissioners in an outlying Tang principality than to call themselves kings of an independent state.

The importance of Tang support and acknowledgment is amply demonstrated by the fate of Zhang Huaishen, who took over the rule of the Guiyijun after Zhang Yichao left for Chang'an in 872. The Tang did not officially appoint him as Military Commissioner, even though Zhang Huaishen repeatedly sent envoys to Chang'an, seeking Tang acknowledgment. Without Tang political support, he gradually lost large portions of his domain to the Uighurs and internal discontent arose against him because of his unsettled legitimacy. By the time he finally received Tang endorsement in 888 his position had been weakened to the point that in 890 he was assassinated along with his wife and six sons.

This is the background of Wuzhen's journey to Chang'an. He was heading the first embassy to Chang'an, a highly successful mission that had major consequences for the Guiyijun. This is amply highlighted by the fact that, in contrast with the dearth of information on Wuzhen's journey to Chang'an in traditional histories, there is a considerable amount of material related to this event in Dunhuang, the monk's hometown, both in the form of stone inscriptions and manuscripts. Although no overall account of the mission survives, bits and pieces of contemporary material allow us to reconstruct some of his activities in the Tang capital. It also reveals that Wuzhen became a key figure in the Buddhist community of Dunhuang, and that this began with his mission to Chang'an.[23]

Among the material discovered in Dunhuang is a series of poems written in Wuzhen's honour by eminent monks of the Buddhist monasteries he visited in

21 Rong 2013, 7.

22 Rong 2013, 41.

23 Among the Dunhuang manuscripts there are also some scrolls with Wuzhen's own handwriting. For example, a manuscript copied by Wuzhen himself from before he rose to fame is S.2064, with the colophon dated to a *yimao* 乙卯 year. Dou Huaiyong 竇懷永 (2007, 75) identifies this cyclic date as the year 835, when Wuzhen would have been only nineteen years old.

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Chang'an. A total of fourteen such poems survive, some in more than one copy, revealing their popularity in Dunhuang during the 9th–10th centuries.[24] In addition, there are also three poems written by Wuzhen himself in response to those addressed to him. Based on the names of people and places mentioned in this material, we know that he visited the most important monasteries in Chang'an and that he was treated with respect and admiration. Part of this esteem must have been the result of him being from Dunhuang, which was considered a holy Buddhist city, a gateway to the Western Region whence the teachings of the Buddha came to China. In addition, Dunhuang escaped the Huichang persecution as it lay beyond the control of Tang administration, thus in comparison with the Tang realm, the Buddhist tradition in the Dunhuang region had a legitimate claim to being continuous and authentic. Finally, the victory of the city's Han population over the Tibetans was certainly another factor for being received with such enthusiasm. Wuzhen was granted a purple robe and promoted to the rank of Master of Doctrine, whereas his master Hongbian, the leading cleric of Dunhuang, was conferred the title of Chief Buddhist Controller of Hexi (*Hexi du sengtong* 河西都僧統).

4 Codicological structure of scroll P.3720

Manuscript P.3720 is a relatively long scroll, about 3.5 m in length. The paper is mostly light brown with creases and numerous stains and holes. The catalogue states that it consists of eleven sheets, which vary greatly in length.[25] In addition, a narrow fragment inserted between Sheets 7 and 8 is mentioned but this is not counted as a separate sheet, presumably because of its small size. From the point of view of the physical division of the manuscript, it then comprises twelve sheets of paper glued together into a single scroll. Much of the material appears to be related to Wuzhen, including his appointment decrees and a series of poems composed during his visit to Chang'an. This suggests that the scroll in its current form is not a random collage of unrelated fragments but a collection of materials around a central theme. In other words, the scroll was the result of a conscious effort to join a number of individual fragments, regardless of what the purpose or function of the components in their original context was.

24 Among the manuscripts, there are three scrolls with texts related to Wuzhen and his mission: P.3720, P.3886 and S.4654. For an itemized list of texts in these manuscripts, see Fu 2010, 73–74.
25 Soymié et al. 1991, 212.

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One of the conspicuous facts about this scroll is that it includes a number of dated colophons and the dates range from 851 to 934. Since they are all found on the same manuscript, this immediately raises the question whether the dates represent the time when the texts were copied or they were copied together with the texts from earlier manuscripts. The physical characteristics of the constituent parts of the scroll, such as paper and handwriting, make it clear that some of the texts, including their colophons, indeed come from separate sources and were pasted together only subsequently. Moreover, even the colophons of fragments written by the same hand on the same type of paper have different dates, which reveals that the dates must have been copied together with the texts and thus do not pertain to the actual time of copying.

Some of the components are very short and bear only a few lines of text, suggesting that they themselves at one point had been parts of longer manuscripts but were removed from those. We have no way of knowing whether this was done because the original manuscripts became damaged or whether they were cut up on purpose to be including in this new scroll.[26] According to the dates in the colophons, the scroll was assembled from manuscript pieces written in the course of at least 87 years. Naturally, this corroborates the observation that the constituent parts had been removed from pre-existing manuscripts, rather than having been written with the aim of appearing together in this scroll. This, in turn, also means that we are dealing with an act of recycling, where the purpose of the components in their original context might have been quite different from the role they came to play in this particular collage. At the same time, it is important to note that the compiler of this composite scroll made an effort to cut out texts from older manuscripts and glue these together. For some of the shorter pieces it would have probably been easier and faster to write out the texts anew, rather than bother with defective old fragments. Since the compiler did not do this but took the time to recycle the old fragments, we may assume that it was important for him not only to collect the texts but also to save these relics in their physical form.

P.3720 is a good example of how new manuscripts were created by recycling older fragments of different age and origin and reassembling those into a new

26 An intriguing example of a dismantled manuscript is P.2893 from the Pelliot collection in Paris, a copy of *juan* 4 of the *Sutra of Requitting Kindness* (*Da fangbian Fo bao'en jing* 大方便佛報恩經, T156, 3) with Khotanese texts on the verso. This scroll is over 6 m in length but two full sheets of paper with 54 lines of texts are missing from its first third. These two sheets had been removed sometime in the 10th or 11th century and the scroll was glued together again, without those two sheets. In a strange twist of fate, the two missing sheets with the 54 lines of the sutra ended up in London as part of the collection acquired by Sir M. Aurel Stein. On this scroll, see van Schaik and Galambos 2012, 122–123.

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object. In the following, I will describe the codicological and textual components of this scroll. For the sake of convenience, I take the side fully covered with text as recto, and the largely empty other side with disconnected fragments of texts as verso. Since my interest is mainly codicological, I will use the paper sheets as the basic unit of description, calling the sheets in sequence Sh1–Sh12.

Sh1 (21 cm) An appointment decree given to Hongbian and Wuzhen, with a colophon dated to the 21st day of the 5th month of the 5th year of the Dazhong 大中 reign (851).[27] This is a copy of a stele inscription originally located in the cave library with the manuscripts.[28] Since this is a copy of a stele inscription, the date in the colophon was obviously copied together with the text of the inscription. In contrast with this, the title in the manuscript begins with the words 'Item 1: Appointment decree' 第一件告身, which does not appear on the original inscription but was added by the copyist. The text itself consists of only 13 lines, including the title and colophon, and apparently had been cropped from a larger manuscript that also contained other texts. An indication of this, beside the small size of the paper, is that the tips of some characters at the leftmost end of the text are cut off, suggesting that there had been a text immediately after this one on the original manuscript. The presence of the title 'Item 1: Appointment decree' absent from the original inscription, however, indicates that even before being included in P.3720, this text was already part of some anthology-type collection.

Sh2 (25.5 cm). An appointment decree given to Wuzhen. It begins with the words 'Item 2' 第二件 and concludes with a colophon dated to the 22nd day of the 4th month of the 10th year of the Dazhong reign (856). The decree is merely 6 lines, including the colophon, but is followed by a record of merits in another 8 lines, still on the same sheet of paper. These two texts are written in the same handwriting as the first appointment decree (Sh1), on the same type of paper, strongly suggesting that they used to be part of the same manuscript.

Sh3 (18 cm). A decree appointing Wuzhen Vice Buddhist Controller of Hexi (*Hexi fu sengtong* 河西副僧統). The title begins with the words 'Item 3' 第三件 and

27 The catalogue identifies this date as June 24, 851. Since it is possible, however, that dates in the Guiyijun may have differed from those in Central China, I give the month and day in their traditional format as they appear in the manuscript.

28 At the beginning of the 20th century, this stele was located in Cave 16, the large cave in the side of which the hidden library cave (Cave 17) was found. It is assumed that the stele had originally been inside the library cave (Cave 17) but was removed before its sealing in the early 11th century, probably in order to free up space for more manuscripts. On the stele and its role in the cave, see Imaeda 2008, 92–93.

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the colophon is dated to the 28th day of the 6th month of the 3rd year of the Xiantong 咸通 reign (862). It consists of a total of 9 lines. The text is written in the same hand as those on Sh1 and Sh2, on the same kind of paper. This has several implications. First, initially all three sheets had been part of the same manuscript. Second, the texts had been copied by the same person at the same time from pre-existing documents (e.g. Hongbian's stele inscription) together with their respective dates. Third, the source manuscript from which these texts had been extracted was itself a compilation related to Wuzhen, and at least some of the texts were strung together using sequential titles (e.g. 'Item 1', 'Item 2'). Fourth, the source manuscript also contained additional texts, as these three fragments do not appear to have followed one another, even if their titles are sequential. As to the date of the original manuscript, it must have been copied not earlier than the latest date seen in these texts, which is 862.

Sh4 (23.5 cm). A decree appointing Wuzhen Chief Buddhist Controller of Hexi (*Hexi du sengtong*). The date in the colophon is the 25th day of the 12th month of the 10th year of Xiantong (870). It consists of 12 lines, including the title and colophon, seemingly written in a different hand from the texts on the previous sheets, on lighter paper. The second to last line is written on the line where this sheet joins with the next one (Sh5), with the last line already on the other sheet, demonstrating that these two sheets were glued together before the text was written on them. This also means that Sh4 and Sh5 definitely come from the same source manuscript.

Sh5 (37 cm). A continuation of the previous sheet. Bears a copy of the appointment decree already seen in Sh1, including the colophon dated to 851. Thus the chronological order which has been observed so far loses its continuity. In fact, since these two texts were written on two sheets that had belonged together, they appeared in reversed order already in their original context. Moreover, the source manuscript from which they were extracted must have also been a compilation of material related to Wuzhen, just as the source of the texts on Sh1–Sh3. The presence of a duplicate text in the scroll once again points to the importance of including – and thereby saving – older fragments in their physical form, as opposed to purely preserving the content of the texts.

Sh6 (8 cm). The beginning of five poems written in honour of Wuzhen by monks from monasteries in Chang'an during Wuzhen's visit there. The handwriting is the same for all poems and is visibly inferior to the ones in the previous sections. Although no date is provided, we know that these poems were all

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written at the time when Wuzhen was visiting Chang'an, thus we can tentatively date them to 850. This is a very short sheet, with only 4.5 lines of text, as the last line is written on the joint line with Sh7. This shows that Sh6 and Sh7 come from the same source manuscript and were already glued together when they became part of scroll P.3720.

Sh7 (41.5 cm). Continuation of the poems from Sh6. At the end of the last poem a large red circle with a dot inside is added, as if closing the section; this is, however, not one of the marks commonly used in manuscripts and its precise function in this place is unclear. On the left side, the sheet was cut in a way that the edge of the paper is now very uneven, revealing a marked inattention to the aesthetic aspects of the collage.

Sh8 (2 cm). This is a narrow strip of paper with a single line on it, ending the previous text. What this shows is that in the source manuscript an additional sheet began here before the poems were removed and used in a new manuscript. This sheet is so narrow that the catalogue does not even count it as a sheet but only mentions that a fragment of a sheet is inserted between sheets 7 and 8.[29]

Sh9 (41 cm). Copy of the funerary inscription of the monk Yin Haiyan 陰海晏, including a preface, with a colophon dated to the 1st year of the Qingtai 清泰 reign (934). Yin Haiyan served as Chief Buddhist Controller of Hexi (*Hexi du sengtong*) during 926–933 and this is a copy of his tomb inscription. The colophon includes the name of the person who authored the inscription and 934 refers to the date of the inscription itself, rather than when this manuscript copy was created. The text does not mention Wuzhen, although Yin Haiyan was one of his successors. The text consists of 19 lines written in a crude hand.

Sh10 (51 cm). An eulogy to Yin Lübo 陰律伯, Chief Vinaya-Piṭaka Master of Dunhuang (*Dunhuang du pinizang zhu* 敦煌都毗尼藏主), whose dates are unknown.[30] Another copy of this text appears in manuscript Pelliot chinois 4660. In addition, this sheet also contains two more poems, although with no personal names in them. The paper and handwriting on this sheet appear to be the same as in the previous one, thus it is likely that these two sheets used to be part of the same source manuscript even before they became used in our scroll.

29 Soymié et al. 1991, 212. This also means that since I count this narrow strip as a separate sheet, from this point on my count is out of sync with the catalogue.

30 On the Buddhist title *pinizang zhu* 毗尼藏主 during the Guiyijun period, see Jiang 1993.

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Sh11 (43 cm). A copy of a longer stele inscription commemorating the creation of a cave temple by Zhang Huaishen, nephew of Zhang Yichao and the second ruler of the Guiyijun. A copy of the same text also appears on manuscript S.5630, but the original stele does not survive. The text is incomplete, missing both the beginning and the end. It appears to be in the same handwriting and on the same kind of paper as Sh9–Sh10, thus these four sheets (Sh9–Sh12) must have come from the same source manuscript. The fact that the text is incomplete suggests that the person who assembled this scroll was salvaging fragmentary pieces of older manuscripts and assembling them thematically.

Sh12 (41 cm). Continuation of the text from the previous sheet. The text is unfinished thus it is probable that additional sheets used to be here but were lost already in the source manuscript. These two last sheets (Sh11–Sh12) are of roughly equal length and appear to be intact, showing that they originally had been part of a manuscript where this was the standard sheet size, and that the missing portion of the text was detached when the sheets came apart.

The verso of the manuscript is mostly empty, the only actual text on it is the *Record of the Mogao Caves* (*Mogaoku ji* 莫高窟記) that commemorates the building of the cave temple complex at Mogao.[31] This is a copy of an inscription written with a brush on the wall of the antechamber of Cave 156.[32] The colophon dates it to the 6th year of the Xiantong reign (865), which matches the original version on the cave wall, showing that the date pertains to the inscription, not the creation of this particular manuscript copy. The text consists of 13 lines, including the title and the colophon. It appears towards the middle of the scroll, on the verso of Sh6. Other than this, the verso of the scroll contains some seemingly random notes, writing exercises and a few duplicate dates in very large characters, leaving most of the writing surface empty. All of these notes appear upside down in relation to the rest of the manuscript, further highlighting their randomness. The reoccurring date is the 3rd year of the Tianfu 天福 reign (938) but its significance is unclear as it is entirely without context here. We should point out, however, that the date

31 For the analysis of this text and its codicological characteristics, see Galambos 2009, 813–819. Unfortunately, the digital images of this manuscript available at the IDP website <http://idp.bl.uk> and, in significantly higher resolution, at Gallica <http://gallica.bnf.fr/> are rather confusing because about half of the verso is omitted, making it impossible to understand the correlation of texts on the two sides of the scroll. The same images of the manuscript's verso are joined together into a virtual scroll on Artstor <http://artstor.org>, creating an even more confusing result with no indication whatsoever that part of the images is actually missing.

32 Apparently, this text cannot be seen anymore, even though it was still legible until a few decades ago. We can study it based on tracings done prior to its deterioration. I am grateful to Shi Pingting and the staff of the Dunhuang Academy for clarifying this to me.

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938 already occurs on Sh9–Sh10, the recto of which has a colophon dated to 934. Obviously, this is an indication that the date is not entirely random but is somehow related to the text on the recto.

5 The source components in P.3720 and the compilation of the scroll

Tab. 1 below summarizes the contents of the twelve sheets with the two sides aligned next to one another. Whenever the same text is written on more than one sheet of paper, I removed the line separating the cells in the table (e.g. Sh3–Sh4 recto). When, on the other hand, one sheet of paper contains more than one text (e.g. Sh2), I marked these separate texts with the letters a) and b).[33] As for the sequence of the sheets, the table aligns the contents of the manuscript by their sequence on the recto, even though the verso would have been naturally read in a reversed direction (i.e. from Sh12 to Sh1).

cm	#	Recto	Verso
24	Sh1	Appointment decree of Hongbian and Wuzhen, dated 851	---
25.5	Sh2	a) Appointment decree of Wuzhen, dated 856 b) Record of merit	---
18	Sh3	Appointment decree of Wuzhen, dated 862	---

33 In the case of S5–6, text a) begins on S5 and continues onto S6, where it is followed by a different text.

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cm	#	Recto	Verso
23.5	Sh4	a) Appointment decree of Wuzhen, dated 870 b) Appointment decree of Hongbian and Wuzhen, dated 851 (duplicate copy of the same text as on Sheet 1)	*Record of the Mogao Caves*, dated 865
37	Sh5		
8	Sh6	Five poems written in honour of Wuzhen (written in Chang'an in 850)	---
41.5	Sh7		
2	Sh8		
41	Sh9	Funerary inscription of the monk Yin Haiyan, dated 934	the date 938 repeated twice (upside down) random notes and writing exercises, including the date 938 (upside down)
51	Sh10	Eulogy to the monk Yin Lübo	
43	Sh11	Inscription commemorating the creation of a cave temple by Zhang Huaishen	blank, with only two and a half characters
41	Sh12		blank, with only ten characters

Tab. 1: Codicological structure of manuscript P.3720.

When we look at the codicological composition of the manuscript, it is obvious that even though the scroll consists of 12 separate pieces of paper, some of these had been joined together prior to the compilation of the scroll. Accordingly, the person who composed the scroll did not glue together 12 manuscript fragments but used larger ones that were composite pieces themselves. Thus Sh1–Sh3 are written on the same type of paper by the same hand, showing that they used to belong to the same manuscript. At the same time, in their original context the texts did not follow one another in the same order and there seems to have been additional texts between them, which were omitted from our scroll. We shall call this first composite component C1.

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The next component (C2) in our scroll consists of Sh4–Sh5 with two different texts, one of which is a duplicate copy of a text already present in C1 (Sh1). The next component (C3) comprises Sh6–Sh8 with the five poems written to Wuzhen on his visit to Chang'an. Once again, there is indication that the poems were not all in the same order and some text was omitted from our scroll. It is equally possible, however, that the missing text was cut out at an earlier time and C3 appeared in its current form already in the source manuscript. The next component (C4) is Sh9–Sh10 where, once again, the two sheets most likely do not represent their original form as some text is missing from between them. Finally the last component (C5) is the two sheets of Sh11–Sh12 with the incomplete text commemorating Zhang Huaishen's merits for building a Buddhist cave at Mogao. Thus manuscript P.3720 consists of five separate components (C1–C5) that were glued together into a single scroll. Tab. 2 below shows the correspondence between components and sheets, including the dates on the recto and verso.

Components	Sheets	Dates (recto & verso)	
C1 (67.5 cm)	Sh1	851	
	Sh2	856	
	Sh3	862	
C2 (60.5 cm)	Sh4	870	
	Sh5	851	865
C3 (51.5 cm)	Sh6	(850)	
	Sh7		
	Sh8		
C4 (92 cm)	Sh9	934	938
	Sh10		938
C5 (84 cm)	Sh11		
	Sh12		

Tab. 2: The five original components of manuscript P.3720.

The dates in the five components are also intriguing. The three dates in C1 (i.e. 851, 856 and 862) appear as colophons to texts written by the same hand, presumably at the same time. Thus none of them represent the date of manuscript C1 itself, which would instead be dated to 862 or later. On similar grounds, C2 would have to be dated 870 or later, which works well with the date 865 (*Record of the Mogao Caves*) on the verso of the manuscript. For C3 we do not have any dated colophon and can only conclude that the manuscript was written after Wuzhen's trip to Chang'an in 850, although it is very likely that this happened significantly

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later. In C4 we have 934 on the recto and at least three instances of the date 938 on the verso. Now it is possible that the oversized scribble-like dates on the verso were added to this manuscript several years later than the text on the recto but it would have still been done before C4 became part of P.3720. In sum, our manuscript had to have been compiled after 938. Finally component C5 provides no clue to the date, other than the text itself would have been written after Zhang Huaishen's coming to power, that is, 872. This does not tell us, however, when this particular copy of the inscription was made.

Tab. 2 illustrates that many of texts on the recto are related to Wuzhen, although this conveniently identifiable theme disappears in the last three texts on Sh9–Sh12 and the connection is not immediately apparent. Yet Wuzhen had very close ties with the Zhang family and he was appointed Vice Buddhist Controller of Hexi upon Zhang Huaishen's recommendation, as seen in Sh3 dated to 862. In this new position, Wuzhen was obviously even deeper involved with the Buddhist projects of the Zhang administration, even if his name is not specifically mentioned in Sh11–Sh12. In addition, the inscription in Sh11–Sh12 commemorating Zhang Huaishen's building of a cave is certainly related to the inscription *Record of the Mogao Caves* on the verso of Sh6, the original of which was in Cave 156, built by Zhang Huaishen in memory of his uncle Zhang Yichao. Thus it is obvious that the last 3 texts are also related to the other ones, although this connection appears to be the Buddhist community of the Guiyijun in general, rather than the person of Wuzhen. It is perhaps too much of a coincident that it is the last three consecutive texts that are not immediately related to Wuzhen, and this also suggests that we should look for a broader theme here but still within the framework of the Buddhist saṃgha of Dunhuang. Similarly, the texts on Sh9 and Sh10 are both eulogizing monks from the Yin clan, one of the prominent families in Dunhuang, and thus they are also linked in this regard, even though we do not fully understand the connection of the Yin clan with Wuzhen.[34]

A proportional diagram of the physical composition of the whole scroll is presented in Fig. 2. The thick lines indicate divisions between the original components and the dotted ones, between the individual sheets within a single component. The digits underneath represent the sheet numbers from 1 to 12. The image reveals that even though the size of the sheets varies greatly (e.g. Sh8 is a narrow strip of paper between Sh7 and Sh9), there is no great discrepancy between the length of the original components.

34 On the social status of the Yin clan in Dunhuang, see Zhang 2007.

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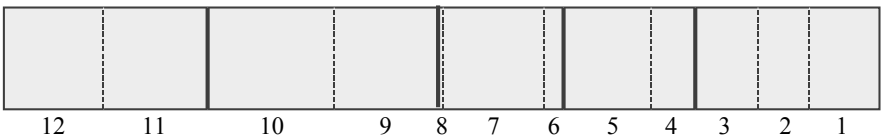

Fig. 2: Physical composition of scroll P.3720.

As to the composition of the whole scroll, the ten-character note on the verso of Sh12 may reveal the identity of the compiler. The note is written upside down and separated into two five-character segments, one written towards the top of the page, the other towards the bottom. While these two segments are clearly apart and even written with an ink of different brightness, the hand is the same and they most likely belong together. The text says: 'Shenshaxiang baixing–––Zhang Fonu hao shou zi' 神沙鄉百性(姓) ––– 張仏(佛)奴好手子. This is quite ungrammatical as a sentence but may be tentatively translated as 'The skillful work(?) of Zhang Fonu, a commoner from Shensha locality.'[35] While my translation here conveniently states that Zhang Fonu collated the scroll, the words 'hao shou zi' 好手子 do no yield any reliable reading and may possibly have a different meaning. Yet it is interesting that this commoner had the surname Zhang, just like the ruling Zhang family in the early part of the Guiyijun.[36] Another detail that is apparent is that despite his Chinese surname, Zhang Fonu's given name means 'servant of the Buddha', which points to a Central Asian identity, as this is a name that ultimately goes back to the Sanskrit name Buddhadāsa but is attested in both Iranian (Sogdian, Bactrian) and Uighur sources. Perhaps a non-Chinese ethnicity

35 Shensha locality, or village, 神沙鄉, was one of the many localities around Dunhuang. When a commoner is identified by name in the manuscripts, in many cases the locality he belonged to is also mentioned. During the Tibetan control of Dunhuang, instead of localities we have the district (*buluo* 部落), which was a Tibetan administrative unit, presumably corresponding to the locality of the post-Tibetan period.

36 At the same time, it would be unwise to rush into conclusions about the change of status of the Zhang ruling family and see them as commoners under the Cao regime. The Zhang surname was extremely common in Dunhuang and there are plenty of examples of commoners with this surname even during the Zhang family's rule. Yet it is also not impossible that even these commoners would have sustained some sort of connection, real or imagined, with their 'relatives' at the higher echelons of society.

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can also explain the ungrammatical expression 'hao shou zi' 好手子, which may be either a direct translation from another language or a phonetic substitution.[37]

With regard to the time of putting together the scroll, we have seen that it was glued together from older manuscript fragments not earlier than 938. In terms of Dunhuang history, this was long after the termination of the Zhang clan's rule of the Guiyijun, which ended in 914 when Cao Yijin came to power. After a long and successful reign, Cao Yijin died in 935 and his son Cao Yuande 曹元德 succeeded him until his own death in 939. He was followed on the throne by his younger brother Cao Yuanshen 曹元深, although actual power fell into the hands of Cao Yijin's Uighur wife.[38] At the same time, the Guiyijun's close ties with the Uighurs suggest that Zhang Fonu, the person possibly behind the compilation of scroll P.3720 and whose given name revealed a Central Asian origin, was of Uighur or Turco-Sogdian background.

6 Conclusions

The above considerations bring up an important point concerning the Dunhuang collection. When confronted with the immense variety of manuscripts that had been deposited in the library cave, with dates ranging from the late 4th to the early 11th centuries, we tend to forget that even though the material stretches over a period of six hundred years, we are essentially looking at a late 10th or early 11th century collection. The implications of this realization are obvious. Unlike printed books, especially modern ones, which we feel justified to consider as having been produced in a specific point in time (i.e. their date of publication), a notion which is also supported by the existence of other copies of the same print run, medieval manuscripts often continued to be used long after their initial creation and this use meant ever new additions and alterations.[39] Users habitually added punctuation, notes, colophons, forewords, dedications, titles, even altered the manuscript physically by cropping it or pasting additional pieces onto it. In

37 It is possible, for example, that the character *zi* 子 ('child, son') at the end is used instead of *zi* 字 ('character, text'). This, however, still does not resolve the grammatical problems of the phrase.

38 Rong 2013, 43–45.

39 Naturally, the same phenomenon can be observed with regard to printed books and there is a whole field of studying marginalia and other additions, yet the afterlife of books in a manuscript tradition is perhaps even more apparent.

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general, owning a manuscript implied not a passive act of possession but an active participation in its growth, and in the course of several generations a manuscript might have ended up very different from how it looked when first created.

Composite scrolls such as P.3720 discussed in this paper are by no means rare in the Dunhuang corpus, yet little attention has been paid to them as a specific type of manuscript in the past. Historians often use the texts in these complex collages without questioning their physical form and context. Manuscripts, however, were rarely created with the intention of preserving or transmitting texts. Instead, they came to life as a result of a social activity and their existence was often merely a byproduct of such an activity. Consequently, one cannot disregard the composition of a manuscript and the intentions behind that. One needs to look at manuscripts comprehensibly, examining them as whole objects including their physical and social characteristics, which came into being with an intent, fulfilling a specific need. This, in turn, will also help contextualizing the texts and will provide additional insights into their content.

Scroll P.3720 was compiled in Dunhuang during the Cao family's rule, not earlier than 938. The person who glued a series of older fragments together was possibly a certain Zhang Fonu, whose note appears on the verso of the last sheet of paper. His given name suggests a Central Asian background, even though his surname identifies him as Chinese, and he shared his surname with the powerful Zhang clan who ruled Dunhuang between 848 and 914. The scroll was obviously not put together randomly as it revolves around the theme of the Buddhist community of Dunhuang. The texts on C1–C3 are all related to the celebrated monk Wuzhen, suggesting that he may have been the common theme for the compilation. C4, however, jumps ahead in time and we cannot detect a connection with Wuzhen. Then C5 yet again goes back to the time of Wuzhen and commemorates Zhang Huaishen's building of a Buddhist cave temple at Mogao. Thus we have to say that the common thread is the Buddhist saṃgha of Dunhuang, even though there is an apparent emphasis on the person of Wuzhen in the first half of the scroll. In this connection, we should keep in mind that the Dunhuang saṃgha was far from being a purely religious matter, as Buddhism was the means by which the ruling clan legitimized its reign throughout the Guiyijun period both internally and in their diplomatic relations with other states. Accordingly, one of Zhang Yichao's first steps after his victory over the Tibetans was to send a Buddhist mission headed by Wuzhen to the Tang court. Later rulers from the Zhang and Cao families were also active supporters of Buddhism and carried out large-scale projects involving the construction of cave temples at the Mogao caves. Scroll P.3720 is thus closely tied to both state legitimacy and the Buddhist saṃgha of Dunhuang.

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